

THE SLAVE TRADE

CATALOGUE 1496



MAGGS BROS. LTD.

THE SLAVE TRADE

1690-1880

CATALOGUE 1496



BY APPOINTMENT TO
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN
PURVEYORS OF RARE BOOKS
& MANUSCRIPTS
MAGGS BROS. LTD., LONDON

MAGGS BROS. LTD.

Covers from item 69, History of the Merry Brother Jonathan.

MAGGS BROS. LTD.

48 Bedford Square London WC1B 3DR

Telephone: ++ 44 (0)20 7493 7160

Email: travel@maggs.com

© Maggs Bros. Ltd. 2018

Design by Radius Graphics

Printed by Latimer Trend, Plymouth

Catalogue 1496 includes 76 items devoted to the slave trade and its abolition. The items are drawn from the United States and England, France and Spain, Liberia and Ghana. In addition to books, there are broadsides, prints and manuscripts. The main names in the English abolition movement all feature: William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, and Granville Sharp; as do Anthony Benezet, Ignatius Sancho, Frederick Douglass and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Important figures in the establishment and government of the Sierra Leone colony are also represented.

The revolutions in Haiti, France, and America all took place in the period covered, and their ramifications on free trade, for starters, underpin the publication of several items here. So too do the other major events of the era: obviously, the signing and implementation of the 1807 and 1833 Abolition Acts, but also the 1814 Treaty of Paris, which contained a clause for abolition that bound both France and Spain.

There is a considerable group documenting some of the internal conflicts within the abolition movements in both England and France, as well as the resistance from planters in the colonies whose interests were materially and immediately affected. It is difficult to over-estimate the scale of the slave trade and how integral it was to the vastly profitable sugar industry. In the early decades of the nineteenth century, colonists and plantation owners became increasingly mindful to position themselves as anti-slavery but at every turn resisted emancipation.

Among the highlights are the first American *Code Noir*, a seventeenth century slave trafficking licence, a decree abolishing slavery in Spanish America, and rare imprints from Martinique and St. Vincent. Sir Philip Gibbs' *Instructions for the Treatment of Negroes* (1797) includes eight pages of chants and songs, while Henry Smeathman's depiction of a whipping in Grenada is dramatic in the extreme.



A Rare 17th Century Slave Trafficking Licence

1 [PORCIO (Nicolas).] Don Nicolas Porcio, Assentista de la Introduccion de Negros en todas las Indias tiene por su Patrocinio, y amparo a la Sacratissima Reyna de los Cielos en la advocacion de su Santissima Natividad.

First edition, completed in manuscript. Pictorial wrappers with decorative border, stitched, old folds otherwise clean and bright. Folio. 8pp. [Madrid?], November, 1690. £7,500

The Spanish Crown was reluctant to deal directly in slaves and so, for nearly 300 years between 1543-1834, it operated a system granting *asientos* which allowed other parties (Great Britain was one) to sell slaves to America and the Caribbean. This document is the renewal of the *asiento* allowing Nicolas Porcio, a Genoese merchant, to traffick slaves. It was the second time he'd held the *asiento*. His first was in February 1682 when, with Juan Barroso del Pozo, they were granted an *asiento* for six years.

Hugh Thomas writes: "The scheme like everything related to the *asiento*, was complex; ... they had to import black slaves from Africa in such quantity as would fill 11,000 tons of shipping, and in return for that privilege they would have to pay over 1,000,000 pesos in taxes and be responsible for 200,000 escudos of government

expenditure in Flanders. It was recognised that they would buy their slaves in Curaçao.” (The Amsterdam banking firm, Coymans, had been involved with Assientists since 1670, and so it was natural that they would look to the Dutch-controlled island. Thomas might mean selling rather than buying at Curaçao.)

For the first *assiento*, Porcio engaged the renowned pirate, Nicolas van Hoorn, in a preliminary agreement to assist. However, they only managed to traffick 883 enslaved people. Porcio even tried to enter the Jamaican market. By 1684, their company was in trouble and they were unable to make the requisite payments to the crown. (It was in the aftermath of this that Van Hoorn made the transition from privateer to pirate and began plundering the west coast of Africa.) Porcio was forced to abandon the *assiento* in 1685, where it was then taken over by Balthazar Coymans, who held it until 1686 when it was annulled. Jean Carçau held it from 1687 until 1688 and, in the same year, it was renewed for Porcio, who retained it until October 1691.

Signed “Yo el Rey”, though likely a secretarial hand rather than Charles II himself, there would have been several copies of the *assiento* made for Porcio, largely for administrative purposes. With this document, the king sets out the terms of the *assiento*. Namely, that Don Nicolas Porcio here should be given every assistance; that the *assiento* does not extend to anyone other than Porcio; and that anyone else caught trafficking will be penalised. Indeed, permission is granted to have his ships searched when they enter port so as to enforce compliance. It also notes that there is a legal process, he will have the right of appeal, and that all disputes will be carried out at the Council of the Indies: “y si de los que dieredes se agraviaren alguna de las partes litigantes, en los casos, y cosas que debieredes oir apelacion conforme a derecho, oireis, y admitireis las que interpusieren para ante la dicha mi Junta, formada para estas materlas; y estando disuelta para el mi Consejo de las Indias, y no para otro Juez...”

Furthermore, Porcio is granted the right to appoint ministers and “Juezas Conservadores” as he deems necessary to better manage the *assiento* in the Indies, and specifically Buenos Aires, a known port for trafficking slaves, so long as he doesn’t accept slaves that come to him fraudulently. In the manuscript note at the bottom of the upper wrapper it states that he has appointed the Governor of Venezuela, Marques de Casal, to be his Juez Conservador in Caracas, Venezuela.

On the death of Charles II, the *assiento* would later be held by the French Guinea Company, and the British South Sea Company.

Extremely rare: not in OCLC or COPAC. The British Library holds a copy of the *Resumen de lo sucedido en el Asiento que ajusto Don Nicolas Porcio, encargandose de la Introduccion de Esclavos Negros en las Indias* as well as *Señor. Don Nicolas Porzio. Dize: Que por Asiento ajustado en el Año passando de 1682. se encargo de la introduccion de Esclavos Negros en Indias* (Spain, 1683), but not this one. Scelle, G., “The Slave-Trade in the Spanish Colonies of America: the *Assiento*” in *The American Journal of International Law*, vol. 4, no. 3 (July 1910), pp.612-661; Thomas, Hugh, *The Slave Trade*, London, 2006, pp.214-218.

“Africa is a mine of slaves”

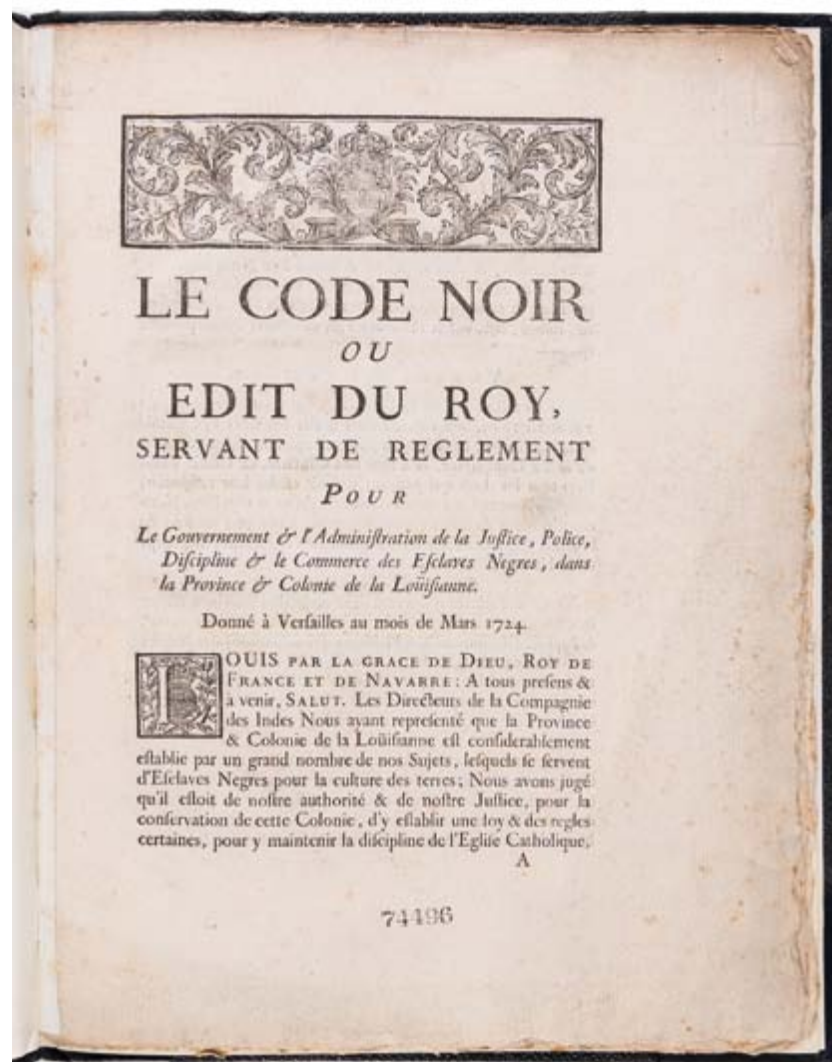
2 HELDING (Johannes). Dis[s]ertatio academica Mauritaniæ seu regna Fes-Marroccanum et Algier, succinte delineans qvam ex consensu ampliss:æ facultis philos:æ in Reg. Acad. Upsal. præsiede viro celeberrimo m. Haraldo Wallerio, geom. prof. reg. & ord. ad publicum examen modeste defert Johannes Holdingh. Holm. In aud. gust. maj. anno 1699, die [15, hand written] febr. horis ante merid. solitis.

First edition. 4to. In a recent period-style panelled calf binding, blind tooling. Red label and gilt tooling to spine. Some soiling on last few leaves. Scattered contemporary minor corrections in ink in text, inscribed for “Mons: Andr. Hesselius” in lower margin of title page. (8), 40 pp. Holmiæ [=Stockholm], impressa literis Wankifvianis, [1699]. £2,000

The first Swedish work on North Africa, published at the commencement of the salt trade between Sweden and Mauritania, which also saw the commencement of the Swedish slave trade. Johannes Holding was one of several Swedish scholars to take note of its inception. Holding himself did not travel to Africa and so he makes use of both modern and ancient sources in his descriptions as well as speculations. While he describes Mauritians as “ad omnia opera servilia perficienda” [roughly: incomplete], he’s generally even handed in his thoughts on the culture. As Joachim Östlund notes in the 2010 translation of this thesis: “Particulièrement intéressant est le fait qu’il décrit l’Afrique du nord comme une culture supérieure qui fait partie de la civilisation antique et non pas comme une région primitive et une antithèse du monde occidental.” [Of particular interest is the fact that it describes North Africa as a superior culture that is part of ancient civilization and not as a primitive region and antithesis of the Western world.] Holding also provides notes on the trans-Atlantic slave trade, including a fulsome description of slaves being shipped to work on the tobacco and sugar plantations in America. He concludes: “one could say that Africa is a mine of slaves.”

The title-page bears an ink inscription “Mons Andr Hesselius.” This may be the author of the 1725 work, *Kort berättelse om then swenska kyrkios närvarande tilstånd i America*, who also acted as provost for a Swedish congregation in Delaware. He studied with Holding at Uppsala and his 1698 thesis, *Dissertatio historica de Vandalis*, included notes on North Africa. **Rare:** OCLC locates just three copies at Princeton, Denmark, and the National Library of Sweden. Lidén p.500, no. 5. Not in Playfair Algeria; not in Playfair Morocco; not in Paulitschke.





The First American Code Noir

3 [LOUIS XV.] *Le Code Noir ou Edit du Roy. Le Gouvernement & l'Administration de la Justice, Police, Discipline & le Commerce des Esclaves Negres, dans la Province & Colonie de la Louisiane.*

First edition. Engraved vignette to title-page. 4to. Spine strengthened with old linen strip, and bound in early 20th century green half calf over buckram with gilt title on cover. Bookplate of the Howard Memorial Library on pastedown, reference number on lower margin of leaf A1, and perforated stamp of the same on blank margin of Aiiii. 15, [1]pp. Paris, de L'Imprimerie Royale, 1727.

£12,500

Rare and important: this is a major eighteenth century slavery document. The first separately printed *code noir* and the first to provide specifically for the French-governed Louisiana colony.

The growth of plantations and their increasing importance to the French economy demanded a systematization of laws regarding slaves. "The promulgation of the slave code, the *code noir*, in 1685 signified a recognition by the state that black slavery was in the colonies to stay" (Cohen, 40). It's worth noting that the 1685 *Code Noir* was not published separately and provided only for France's Caribbean colonies. The first French colony in Louisiana was established at Biloxi in 1699. Over the next twenty years, further settlements were created at Mobile (now in Alabama), Natchitoches, and New Orleans.

Jean-Baptiste Colbert (1619-1683), the French Minister of Finance, was the first to recognise the need for a *code noir*. He was involved in the formation of several trading companies seeking to advance French trade. The *Compagnie française des Indes occidentales* (French West India Company) was one, the *Compagnie de Sénégal* another.

The foremost purpose of this Louisiana *code noir* was to protect the commercial interests of the French crown. As such, it retains the protectionist nature of the 1685 document: the first (of fifty-four) articles orders that all Jews be expelled from the colony. The fourth states that "negres" belonging to masters who weren't Catholic (i.e. Protestants) were liable to be confiscated.

The code established provisions prescribing the well-being, education, and religion (all were to be baptised and practice Roman Catholicism) of the enslaved workforce. Article ten states that in the event of a child born to one free and one enslaved parent, **the child would share the condition of the mother**. Their rights were also limited in law, for example, none were allowed to congregate in large crowds, nor carry weapons, nor own property. Punishments were also regulated, dictating that the death penalty be applied to those striking their masters and drawing blood. In this instance, the state would provide compensation to the slave owner, raised via a tax on slave holdings in the colony. Article thirty-two states that runaways would have their ears cut off and be branded on the shoulder. There were punishments for masters, too. Those guilty of torture or mutilation would have their slaves confiscated. Furthermore, there are further regulations governing their purchase and sale, while the rights of manumitted slaves are also outlined. Importantly, **"the Louisiana slave code of 1724 reiterated the 1685 provision forbidding slave owners from keeping their slaves as concubines** and threatened owners with heavy fines. A separate provision regarding colored or black freedmen also forbade them from sexually exploiting their female slaves, but allowed them to escape the punishment of the law by marrying them" (Cohen, 50).

Enslaved people first arrived in the Louisiana colony in 1719, although a census of 1708 included 80 native American Indian slaves. The new arrivals were immediately absorbed into the agricultural economy and their importance is reflected

in this updated code. “Viewed by many historians as somewhere between the protective and humane Spanish codes and the harsher laws of the British and Dutch, the *Code Noir* would gradually lose many of its moderating provisions to subsequent colonial legislation of the eighteenth century, which sought to control the overwhelming expansion of the slave population” (*Cambridge World History of Slavery*, III: pp.602-3).

Rare: auction records list just three copies. OCLC locates copies at NYPL, Harvard, UNC, Yale, and JCB. *Chadenat*, 4865; *Sabin*, 14124 “*Very important.*” *Cohen, William, The French Encounter with Africans*, Bloomington, 2003, p.40, 50-1. *Riddell, William Renwick, “Le Code Noir” in Journal of Negro History*. Vol.10, No. 3, July, 1925. pp.321-329.

Regulating Trade in Goods Produced by Slave Labour

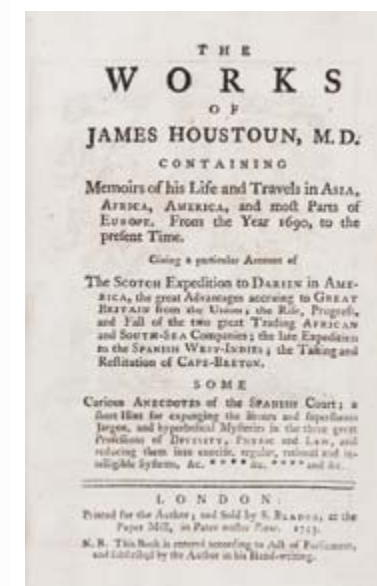
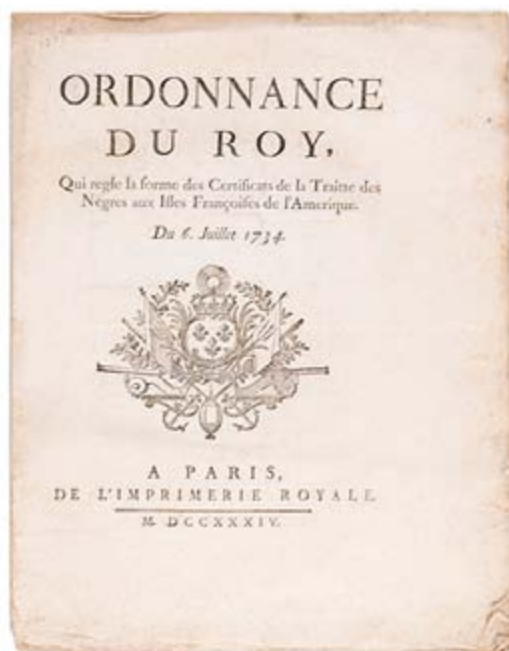
4 [LOUIS XV.] Ordonnance du Roy, Qui regle la forme des Certificats de la Traitte des Negres aux Isles Françoises de l’Amerique. De 6 Julliet 1734. Engraved title vignette. 4to. Unopened, a little toned. 8pp. Paris, De l’Imprimerie Royale, 1734. £1,250

This proclamation seeks to regulate the trade in goods produced by slave labour in the French Caribbean.

Divided into six articles, the first establishes that certificates will be issued “pour les marchandises qui proviendront du produit de la vente ou du troc des negres qui y auront esté apportez” [...for the goods produced by the sale or the bartering of the negroes brought there].

The certificates will include a bill noting the price, quality and quantity of the goods sold, and will be handed to the captains of the ships, or their agents who will deliver the goods. They will make their own notes on each invoice and if there is any trouble (ie fraud or forgery) of the certificates, they will be seized and confiscated.

An example of the certificate, specifying the sale of cotton, is included on the final leaf. OCLC locates copies at JCB, the Ransom Center, and NYPL.



The Royal African Company and the Triangle Trade

5 HOUSTOUN (Dr. James). The Works ... Containing memoirs of his life and travels in Asia, Africa, America, and most parts of Europe. From the year 1690 to the present time. Giving a particular account of the Scotch expedition to Darien ... the rise, progress and fall of the two great Trading African and South-Sea Companies; the late expedition to the Spanish West-Indies; the taking and restitution of Cape-Breton.

First edition. Engraved frontispiece of author's armorial bookplate and signed by him at end of preface. 8vo. Contemporary calf with red label and gold banding to spine, rubbed, with some superficial areas of wear to back board and short crack at head of front joint, gathering A browned, with some transfer onto first leaf of B, otherwise a very good copy. xviii, 464, [403-435 appendix]pp. London, Printed for the Author, 1753. £1,200

Houstoun's memoir focuses chiefly on economic matters, paying particular attention to the Royal African Company, the South Sea Bubble, and the Triangle Trade. As per the title, Houstoun travelled widely and his notes here provide a valuable insight to conditions in early eighteenth century Africa, America and Asia.

The Darien venture was Scotland's ill-fated attempt to establish itself as a global trading power in the seventeenth century. The settlement of 'Caledonia' on the isthmus of Panama should have been an ideal location for a trading post, but a combination of rough, unfertile terrain, attacks from the Spanish as well as native

people led to disease and starvation, and after two abortive expeditions the venture was abandoned, leaving the Scottish nation over £200,000 in debt. This was a contributing factor to Scotland's concession to the Act of the Union.

With the bookplate of Sir Edmund Atrobus on the front pastedown.

COPAC locates only two holdings in the UK, at Edinburgh and Glasgow. OCLC adds three more holdings, all of which are in North America (Harvard, Columbia and the Redwood Library and Atheneum). *Sabin* 33199.

Shipping Sugar from Jamaica

6 DAVIS (Mark) & PROTHEROE (Philip). Two ALS from Davis & Co. to William Perrin.

Autograph manuscript. 4to. 2, 2pp. Bristol, 14th June, 1774 & 27 November, 1779. **£950**

Correspondence detailing some aspects of the trade of sugar between Britain and the West Indies, which thrived until the Slavery Abolition Act of 1833.

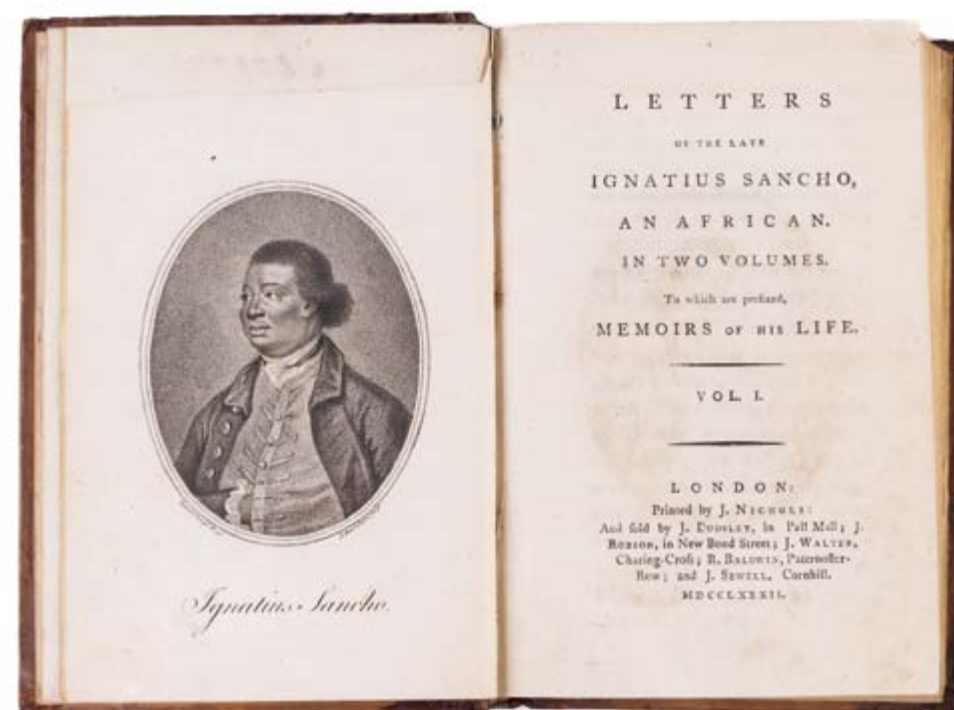
In the first letter Davis & Co., an established Bristol-based sugar merchants, present to Mr. Perrin reports from the captains of various vessels, which will carry his Grange Hill Sugars to Bristol, and with news of a Mr. Laing, on whom their captains had been instructed to wait on their arrival in Jamaica. On the same paper, but dated 17th March 1774, there are the details of a £1500 insurance policy made on 100 hogsheads of sugar being shipped from Jamaica to Bristol.

The second letter informs Perrin that “conformable to his directions” his Sugars have been put into the market at 60/. but have not yet sold and if they can get 59/. they will let them go, along with news of the ships in their fleet. It also mentions widespread condemnation in London of “this mode of defending the islands”, though it is not clear exactly to what Davis and Protheroe are referring. They then disparagingly remark: “we see clearly that little if anything can be done in this City.”

“an untutored African may possess abilities equal to an European”

7 SANCHO (Ignatius). Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho, an African. In two volumes. To which are prefixed, memoirs of his life.

First edition. 2 vols. With two engravings by Francesco Bartolozzi (1728-1815), one of which is after the Gainsborough portrait of Sancho. 8vo. Contemporary tree calf (rebacked preserving the old gilt spines, new black morocco labels). A few spots in places, blank upper margins of each portrait leaf cut-away (to delete an inscription) but otherwise a very clean copy. [6], lvii, [1], 204; [6], 224pp. London, printed by J. Nichols et al, 1782. **£4,000**



First edition of a work that ranks “among the best and most successful examples of abolitionist rhetoric produced in the years leading up to the establishment of a formal abolition movement” (Carey, 63) written by the former slave turned man of letters, Ignatius Sancho.

Sancho “started life on a slave ship in the mid-Atlantic. He arrived in England aged two, finding himself in the austere household of three sisters in Greenwich. Yet from these unpromising beginnings, Sancho went on to become a servant in the Duke of Montagu’s household, a move which provided him with the opportunities to pursue an education and finally to leave service and open up his own grocery in London’s Mayfair. It was then that Sancho became a dedicated correspondent. A devoted husband to a black West Indian wife, Anne Osborne, and father to six children, most of Sancho’s letters concern the domestic travails of a grocer in ill-health trying to keep together body and soul. However, Sancho also feels moved to comment upon both political and literary life in Britain, and he does so with a deep love of the country and a thwarted desire to belong” (King, 11-12).

Despite his status as a former slave and lack of formal education, Sancho participated in British high culture – he widely and deeply read the classics of English literature, regularly attended the theatre, published his musical compositions, befriended authors and artists alike, and conducted correspondence with many *literati* including Laurence Sterne. He wrote to Sterne to praise his strong anti-slavery stance in his sermon *Job’s Account of the Shortness and Troubles of Life* and the ensuing

correspondence “became one of the most celebrated in the mid-eighteenth-century world of letters” (Carey, 57).

Consequently, Sancho became well-known to his contemporaries as a man of taste and refinement and his judgment was often sought on cultural matters. The artist John Hamilton Mortimer “frequently consulted Sancho about his paintings. Others sought his literary advice. For example, the aspiring author George Cumberland read some of his works to Sancho because ‘he is said to be a great judge of literary performances’” (ODNB).

He also treated as proteges a number of younger white artists and writers such as John Meheux and John Highmore, to whom he addressed a several letters found in *Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho*. In another letter that is also found in the collection he becomes “**the first black literary critic of Phillis Wheatley**” (ODNB) whom he describes, in a letter to J. Fisher (found in *Letters* pp. 175-176), as a “Genius in bondage” whose poems “do credit to nature”. As such, he represents, not only to his contemporaries but also to posterity, “the most complete assimilation of an African writer into British culture in the period” (Ellis, 59).

Two years after Sancho’s death, Frances Crew collected his letters “from the various friends to whom they were addressed” (i), arranged them chronologically and published them. The first edition of *Letters* had over 1,160 subscribers – an indication of Sancho’s far-reaching appeal. The work appeared in four further editions before 1803. Crew writes that while “wishing to serve his worthy family” her secondary motivation in publishing the letters is “the desire of shewing that an untutored African may possess abilities equal to a European” (ii). “There were few precedents for such a venture. The narratives of the lives of [former slaves] Briton Hammon and Ukawsaw Gronniosaw had been taken down by amanuenses, and published in 1760 and 1772” (Carey, 61) and the poems of Phillis Wheatley, a Boston slave, appeared in Boston and London in 1773 but these works lacked the scale and range of personal experience apparent in Sancho’s *Letters*.

While “the predominant tone [of the work] is playfulness expressed through light satire, gentle humour, and a pervading delight in verbal and typographical witticisms” (Carey, 59), *Letters* nevertheless “**offers many personal and political arguments against slavery, and shows evidence of having been constructed with those arguments in mind**” (Carey, 63). For example, in letter LVII, found on page 174 of volume one, he thanks a Mr. Fisher for sending books “upon the unchristian and most diabolical usage of my brother Negroes”, discusses briefly the horrors of the slave trade before articulating his deeply held belief that a person’s race or religion are of little consequence and that we ought to “honour virtue - and the practice of the great moral duties - equally in the turban - or the lawn-sleeves” (175).

As a former slave living in Great Britain, Sancho’s letters also address the challenges of assimilation - “the fate of the British black community, a community which was itself forged by slavery” (King, 102). Through *Letters* we learn about what life was like in eighteenth century London for a former slave - how he endured slurs and



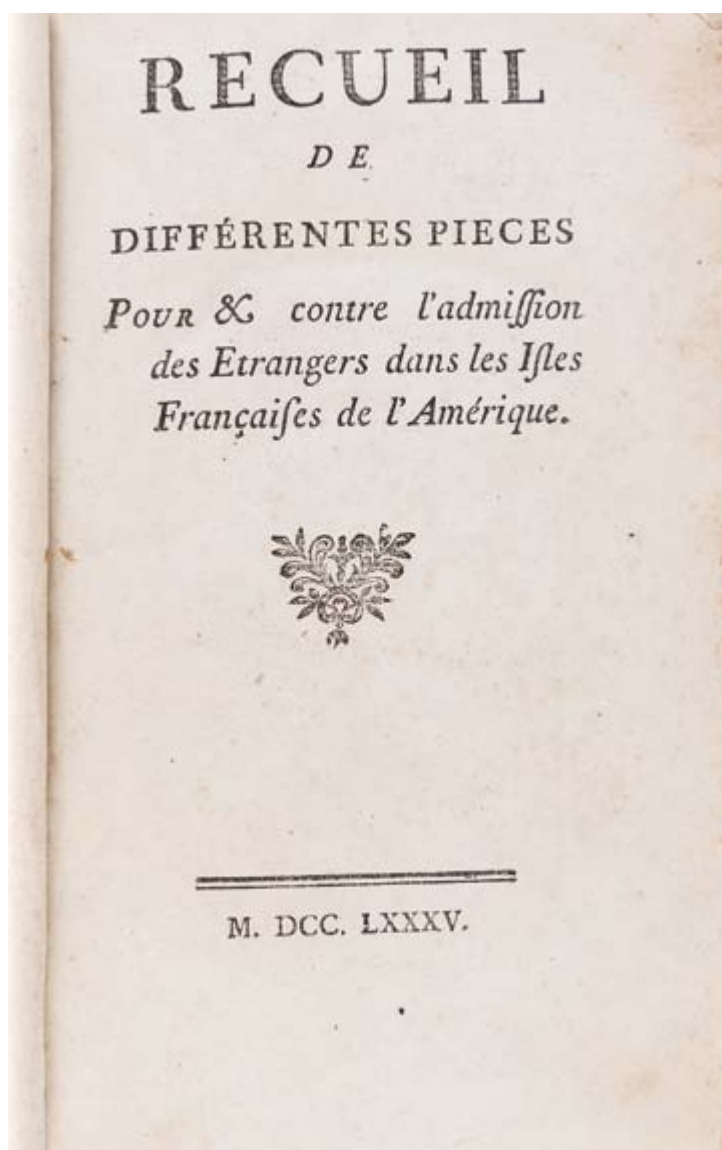
abuse on a family night out, struggled with poverty and participated in the community of former African slaves living in the capital.

Sancho was immediately adopted by the abolitionists and “by the second half of the 1780s Sancho’s *Letters* was cited by the abolitionist movement as an outstanding refutation of the idea that black people lacked souls, intellects or rational faculties. Over the next couple of decades Sancho was profiled and his correspondence reprinted in various anthologies of negro biography and literature compiled by English, French and American abolitionists” (King, 67).

Letters of the late Ignatius Sancho includes an important prefatory biography of Sancho by Joseph Jekyll (1754-1837), the literary-minded lawyer and politician, who stepped in for Dr. Johnson after the latter failed to deliver his promised memoir of the life of Sancho commissioned for this work. Jekyll wrote his account, which is the best single source for information about Sancho’s life, ‘in imitation of Dr Johnson’s style’ (ODNB).

Provenance: Mary Phillips, signature on the front flyleaves dated 1800. A “Miss Phillips” appears in the long list of subscribers.

Carey, Brycchan, *British Abolitionism and the Rhetoric of Sensibility*, New York, 2005; Ellis, Markham, *The Politics of Sensibility: Race, Gender, and Commerce in the Sentimental Novel*, Cambridge, 1996; King, Reyahn, *Ignatius Sancho: An African Man of Letters*, London, 1997.



*Opening French Ports in the West Indies
with Information on the Slave Trade*

8 [FRENCH WEST INDIES.] *Recueil de Différentes Pièces pour & contre l'admission des Etrangers dans les Isles Françaises de l'Amérique.*

First edition. Two folding tables. 8vo. Later half calf over green boards, red morocco label to spine, gilt, some minor marginal dampstaining not affecting text. [c], 492, [2]pp. Np [but Paris], 1785. £8,500

Rare. A very good copy of a work highlighting the changes in relations between France and her colonies in the wake of the Revolutionary War in America.

The end of the Revolutionary War in America had immediate consequences for French and English colonial trade. John Habbakuk explains that the “French monopoly of the trade of their West Indian colonies met with the same difficulty as beset the English attempt to maintain a colonial monopoly – the complementary nature of the West Indian and North American colonies which made it profitable to exchange the sugar products of the former for provisions of the latter. And the inability of the French adequately to ensure the provision of the goods required by her colonies led not only to an extensive contraband trade, but to relaxations of the monopoly in 1763, 1767, and 1779, and finally to the decree of 30 August 1784, which created six entrepôts where foreign ships were allowed to trade in a wide range of specified commodities.” The ports were at St. Pierre on Martinique, St. Lucia, Pointe-à-Pitre on Guadeloupe, Scarborough on Tobago, as well as the three on St. Domingue.

Much was written on the subject in the lead up to, and aftermath of, the decree, as there was great fear of a similar revolution occurring in France and opening the ports was seen as one way to ensure the status quo. Many of the regional deputies “resisted the king’s prescriptions, of course, but tacitly accepted the argument that much had changed, economically speaking, in the colony-metropole relation: the ‘branch’ had very possibly become the ‘trunk’” (Cheney).

This perhaps understates the matter. In a letter to Elbridge Gerry in March 1785, **John Adams commented on the impact of the decree:** “Such is the opposition in France to the Arrêt du Conseil D’Etat du Roi concernant le Commerce étranger dans les Isles Françoises de L’Amerique, du 30 Août 1784, that I despair of perswading the Ministry to venture farther in our favour. There is a general Cry of the Merchants against that Ordonance. The Commerce of Marseilles, Bourdeaux, Nantes, Rochelle, St Maloes and Havre de Grace, have remonstrated against it in Strong and warm Terms. The Parliament of Bourdeaux too has joined in the Clamour, and the States of Bretagne, came very near it. The Minister will Stand firm to this Ordonnance, it is Said, but I fear will be discouraged from extending his Liberal Sentiments Still further.”

This volume brings together almost all protectionist writings published in 1784-1785 on the question of the opening of ports in the French West Indies and colonial trade with other nations, and includes notes on the slave trade. This series of letters and observations records the opinions of regional authorities in France including Normandy, Orlean, Marseille, Havre, Guyenne, Medoc et al.

The works included are:

1. Memoire de la Chambre d’Agriculture, du Cap sur les nouvelles prohibitions contre la liberté de l’introduction des Américains du Continent, dans les Ports de la Colonie de Saint-Domingue.
2. Arrêt du Conseil d’État du Roi, du 30 Août 1784, concernant le Commerce étranger dans les Isles Françaises de l’Amerique.

3. Copie de la Lettre Circulaire écrit par M. le Maréchal de Castries, aux AdministEURS des Isles Françaises de l'Amerique, en leur adressant les Arrêts du Conseil des 30 Août & 26 Octobre 1784.

4. DUBUC (Jean-Baptiste). Le pour le contre sur un Objet de grande discorde & d'importance majeur.

5. Requête présentée par les Députés du Commerce de Nantes, aux États & au Parlement de Bretagne.

6. Requête des Fabriquants & Entrepreneurs des Manufactures de toiles peintes, de Nantes, à Monsieggneur le Controleur-général.

7. Mémoire des Négociants de Nantes, contre l'admission des Étrangers dans nos Colonies.

8. Mémoire du Commerce de la Rochelle ... concernant le Commerce de l'Etranger dans les Isles Françaises.

9. Observations des Négociants de Bordeaux, sur l'Arrêt du Conseil, &c.

10. Lettre du Parlement de Bordeaux, au Roi, au sujet de l'Arrêt du Conseil, &c.

11. Mémoire des Négociants du Havre, sur l'Arrêt du Conseil, &c.

12. Observations des Syndics de la Chambre du Commerce de Normandie, sur l'Arrêt du Conseil, &c.

13. Observations de la Chambre du Commerce de Marseille, sur l'Arrêt du Conseil, &c.

14. Représentations de la Chambre du Commerce de Dunkerque, sur l'Arrêt du Conseil, &c.

15. Mémoire des Entrepreneurs des Manufactures de sucre d'Orleans, sur l'Arrêt du Conseil du 30 Août 1784. ... & celui du 6 Octobre, **portant suppression des Acquits de la traite des Noirs.**

16. [LEMESLE (Charles).] Réflexions d'un Vieillard, du Pays de Medoc, sur l'Arrêt du Conseil, &c. This includes two folding tables: Tableau du Commerce de l'Amerique and Tableau du Commerce de la Peche de la Morue.

17. Mémoire des Directeurs du Commerce de la Province de Guyenne, sur l'Arrêt du Conseil, &c.

18. [LEMESLE (Charles).] Réponse à la Brochure intitulée le Pour & le Contre.

19. Réflexions faites en 1764 & 1785, sur Mèmoire présenté au Conseil, &c.

No copies listed at auction. OCLC lists copies at NYPL, Harvard, Cornell, LOC, Newberry, Vanderbilt, Clements, and Paris.

Sabin, 68427; Kress, S.5087; Adams, John, *Papers of John Adams*, vol 16, accessed online: <https://www.masshist.org/publications/apde2/view?id=ADMS-06-16-02-0324#ptrADMS-06-16-02-0324-fn-0002> on 13 June 2018; Echevarria and Wilkie, *The French Image of America*, 785/97; Habbakuk, Sir John, "Population, Commerce and Economic Ideas" in Godwin, Albert, *The New Cambridge Modern History*, vol. 8: *The American and French Revolutions*. Cambridge, 1976, p39; Cheney, Paul Burton, *Revolutionary Commerce: Globalization and the French Monarchy*, Cambridge (Mass), 2010, p186.

A Vital Abolitionist Work

9 BENEZET (Anthony). **A Caution to Great Britain and Her Colonies**, in a short Representation of the Calamitous State of the Enslaved Negroes in the British Dominions.

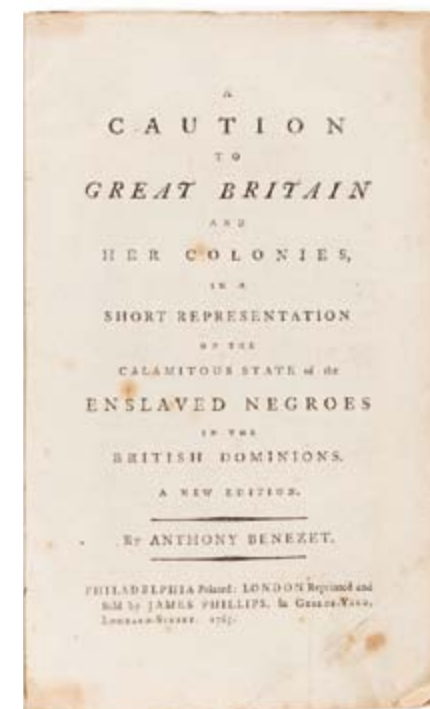
New edition. 8vo. Plain wrappers. Some light foxing, mainly to latter leaves. Lower fore-corners of first few pages creased. 46, [1ad]pp. London, James Phillips, 1785. £350

First published in 1766 in Philadelphia with the slightly alternate title *A Caution and Warning to Great Britain and Her Colonies...* this important work did much to foster the movement for the abolition of the slave trade, and was widely disseminated on both sides of the Atlantic.

A masterpiece of abolitionist rhetoric, Benezet describes his intention thus: "to make known the aggravated iniquity attending the practice of the Slave-Trade, whereby many thousands of our fellow creatures, as free as ourselves by nature, and equally with us the subjects of Christ's redeeming grace, are yearly brought into inextricable and barbarous bondage; and many, very many, to miserable and untimely ends." Most pertinently, he attacks the perceived efficiency of the triangular-trade, noting that Barbados requires an annual import of 5000 enslaved people to maintain the steady population of 8000 on the island's plantations, exposing the "uncommon and unsupportable hardship" of the "excessive labour which they undergo". He then compiles a tissue of evidence of these hardships from a wide range of contemporary accounts of early expeditions to Africa, the middle passage, and the conditions of slavery in the colonies. Sources include George Whitefield, Michel Adanson, William Bosman, William Smith, Andrew Brue – a veritable roll call of seventeenth and eighteenth century accounts of Western Africana.

Hugh Thomas writes, "In the history of abolition, Benezet ... should have a place of honour. He was not only a link between the writings of the moral philosophers, such as Montesquieu and the Quakers, but also one between America and Britain; and indeed between the Anglo-Saxons and the French."

Sabin, 4670; Kress, 6408; cf. Ragatz, p.479; Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, London, 2006, p.471.



Challenging pro-Slavery Arguments

10 BENEZET (Anthony). *Some Historical Account of Guinea, its Situation, Produce, and the General Disposition of its Inhabitants. With an Inquiry into the Rise and Progress of the Slave Trade, its Nature and Lamentable Effects.* New (4th) edition. 12mo. Later half red morocco, spine professionally rebaked, with marbled paper boards. Slight rubbing. Lacks half title. Preliminary pages lightly foxed. Very good. xiii (of xv), 131pp. plus 1 page list of Tracts on Slavery. London, J. Phillips, 1788. £450

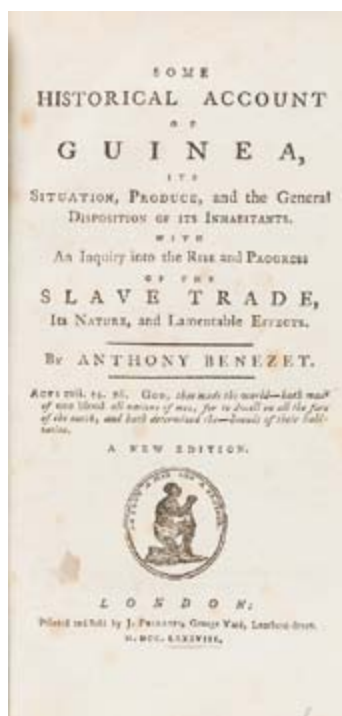
First published in Philadelphia in 1771, this edition was published after Benezet's death in 1784, with the 4pp. "advertisement" before the introduction serving as a brief biography of the author. One of a series of pamphlets produced by Benezet explicating the horrors of slavery with a view to abolition.

This title was intended specifically as an "impartial enquiry" to assess the oft-cited pro-slave trade justification that "the slavery of the Negroes took its rise from a desire, in the purchasers, to save the lives of such of them as were taken captives in war, who would otherwise have been sacrificed to the implacable revenge of their conquerors". By examining a variety of first-hand accounts of trade and exploration on the African continent, Benezet sets out to fully discredit this assertion. He does this through outlining the influence of European factors and trading posts on local conflict, in

particular emphasising the corrupting influence that tax on slave ships had on local rulers. Alongside this, the frank descriptions of African society, government, agricultural and religious practices is designed to give a humanising portrait of African people in their native land. This is then vehemently contrasted with accounts of the conditions of slavery, the circumstances of transportation and the treatment of enslaved people in the colonies.

Ragatz writes that along with John Wollman, Benezet was one of the "chief early anti-slave trade agitators in the new world ... Benezet carried on universal propaganda and was in very close touch with the British Abolitionists. This work gave young Thomas Clarkson most of the information he used in writing the Cambridge Latin prize essay which resulted in his dedicating his life to the abolition movement."

cf. Evans, 11985 (first edition); Ragatz, p.479; Sabin, 4689.



A Rare Image by the Founder of the Sierra Leone Colony

11 SMEATHMAN (Henry). *British Humanity or African Felicity in the West Indies.* This Plate being a slight Sketch of the Inhuman Punishments inflicted on the Miserable Slaves is taken from an original drawing of a Whipping in a Market Place in the Island of Grenada done upon the spot by the late H. Smeathman Esq.

Hand-coloured engraving, measuring approx. 350 by 450mm. A couple of closed tears repaired but very good. London, G. Graham, 8 March, 1788.

£5,000

A rare and dramatic depiction of an enslaved person being punished after a drawing by the founder of the Sierra Leone colony. We locate just a single uncoloured copy at Princeton.

The caption below the image reads: "The Slaves both Male & Female are fastened to four Stake's in the Ground, and lashed till they are hardly able to walk without Assistance. This shocking sight is so common that although it is executed in the Public Market Place, the People buy & sell as though nothing was doing."

Smeathman's interest in entomology took him to Sierra Leone in 1771 where he was sent to collect natural history specimens on behalf of Joseph Banks. He

resided primarily on the Banana Islands and enjoyed the hospitality and protection of the slave trader James Cleveland. He remained there amassing a collection and exploring the coastal areas until 1775. En route home, his ship was captured by an American vessel and he found himself on Tobago. He spent four years in the West Indies, continuing his scientific work there.

He recognised the similarity in climate between the islands of the Caribbean and Sierra Leone and in 1786 submitted to Parliament a plan for the settlement of Sierra Leone. He gained the enthusiastic support of Granville Sharp as well as the Committee for the Relief of the Black Poor. Treasury approved the plan in May of that year, appointing Smeathman as agent. "The settlers were to be drawn mainly from London's black poor population, many of whom were freed slaves. The project was regarded as philanthropic, and was supported by many abolitionists and evangelicals ... The settlement, in and around Freetown, was taken over by the Sierra Leone Company in 1790 and in 1808 Sierra Leone became a crown colony" (ODNB).

Just after his return to England in 1779, he published a prospectus: *Proposals for printing by subscription, Voyages and travels in Africa and the West-Indies, from the year 1771 to the year 1779 inclusive...* According to the entry on Princeton University's library catalogue (<https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/8002104>), the unpublished work was to describe "the geography and natural history of Africa (particularly Sierra Leone) and the West Indies, and the social life and customs of the people. It is also to offer a description and discussion of the slave trade and slavery in the West Indies." Smeathman died in 1786 and this image, seemingly drawn for his travel account, was published posthumously by the London print dealer G. Graham.

Proof with Scratch Lettering

12 [CLARKSON (Thomas).] BREDA (Carl Frederick von) after. Revd. Thomas Clarkson, M.A. author of *Several Tracts on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade*.

Proof with scratch lettering. Mezzotint measuring 430 by 315mm. London, J[ohn]. Young, 12 May, 1789. £1,250

A rare proof copy of this portrait of Clarkson who, along with William Wilberforce, was the driving force behind the abolition of slavery bill that was passed in 1807. The original portrait was painted in 1788 and this mezzotint was published in 1789 at a time when the momentum toward abolition was gaining increased public support and attention.

Central to this was Clarkson's efforts visiting the ports of Liverpool and Bristol, the cities of Manchester, Bath, Birmingham and others to formulate a proper understanding of the slave trade. "Clarkson's findings filled his writings, such as his *Essay on the Impolicy of the African Slave Trade* (1788), which the committee



assiduously printed and distributed in large numbers, and lay behind the twelve propositions which Wilberforce put to parliament in his first great abolitionist speech on 12 May 1789" (ODNB). That date is recalled here in the caption and he is depicted composing the aforementioned essay.

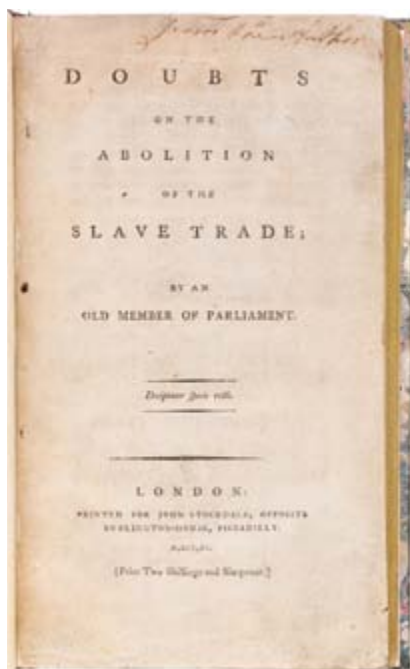
The artist, Carl Breda, was born in Stockholm in 1759 and studied under Sir Joshua Reynolds.

Praised by Boswell

13 [RANBY (John).] *Doubts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade; by an Old Member of Parliament*.

First edition. 8vo. Recently rebound in period style half calf over marbled paper covered boards, red calf label to spine, raised bands, titled and ruled in gilt, lacking blanks and half title, title page & rear pages soiled and light foxing to latter leaves. viii, 124pp. London, John Stockdale, 1790. £550

Presentation inscription to title page, reading simply "From the Author."



Having been educated at Eton and Trinity college, Cambridge, in 1762 Ranby was admitted to Lincoln's Inn. He later "developed into a partisan pamphleteer on the tory side. In 1791 he published *Doubts on the Abolition of the Slave Trade*, which James Boswell (who called Ranby his 'learned and ingenious friend') highly commended" (ODNB).

Ranby contends that abolition would have dire effects on the economies of the West Indian colonies and Britain. He did not see how it would be possible to maintain the necessary workforce required to staff the sugar industry without recourse to a constant supply of enslaved labour.

The work concludes with the following lines: "As the abolition of the slave trade is avowed to be a measure, not of policy but humanity, not of advantage but justice, not of expedience

but experiment, it is the duty of the legislature to be satisfied that the claim of humanity and justice be well founded; that the experiment promises success, and that the interest and strength of the nation are not hazarded in a vain pursuit of unattainable purity and perfection."

Ragatz, p.543; Sabin, 20675.

Well-Off Slaves

14 [WILBERFORCE (William).] [FRANCKLYN (Gilbert).] Substance of speech intended to have been made on Mr. Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave trade, Tuesday April 3, 1792.

Second edition, corrected. 8vo. Contemporary brown wrappers, ms. title in ink to upper wrapper. [iv], 56, [20 appendix]pp. 1792. £450

A very good example of one of several works to appear as a result of the parliamentary debates over abolition of slavery in 1792. This publication is due to "the Unwillingness of the Committee to hear anything farther on the Subject, after Mr Pitt had spoken, prevented the Member from being heard."

This speech is attributed to Gilbert Francklyn, who holds that "popular opinion was not demanding abolition, which he opposes. Petitions calling for it were secured by artifice. There was small need for ameliorating the condition of slaves – they were well off" (Ragatz).

This second edition includes an appendix that includes testimony from a William Craig Harborne of some extraordinary treatment of slaves in West Africa. It also reprints the edict issued by the King of Denmark to abolish slavery within ten years: "it appears, that so far from abolishing the commerce, he gives every possible Encouragement to the carrying it during that term..."

Ragatz, p.463-4; Sabin, 93365.

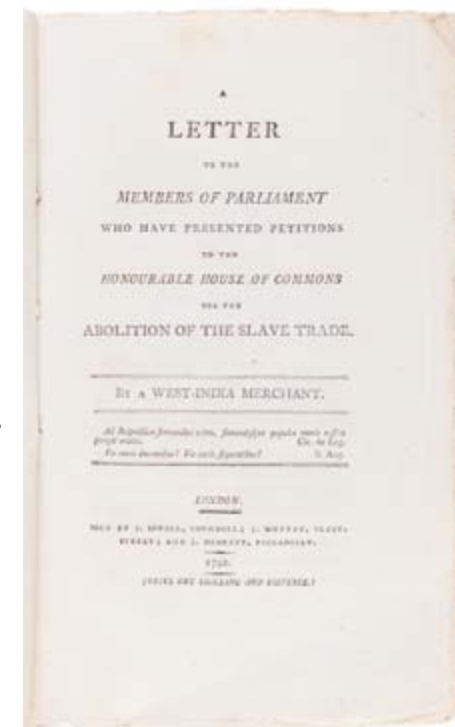
Undermining Abolitionist Methods

15 [INNES (William).] A Letter to the Members of Parliament who have Presented Petitions to the Honourable House of Commons for the Abolition of the Slave Trade.

First edition. 8vo. Stab-sewn as issued, uncut and unopened. 84pp. London, Sold by J. Sewell, J. Murray, and J. Debrett, 1792. £750

Innes was a plantation owner and supporter of slavery. This work was published in the lead up to Wilberforce's first debate on the motion for the abolition of the slave trade in April 1792. Rather than attacking the abolitionist cause outright, here he seeks to undermine their methods of publicity and questions the validity of their petitions. He accuses Wilberforce of secrecy in declining to advertise the date he would table the motion so "that he might gain as much time as possible; so that his Emissaries might thereby be enabled to procure Petitions, with Instructions to you, the Representatives of Counties and Boroughs to mount behind him, on his hobby-horse." Furthermore, he "deprecates the way in which signatures to such petitions were secured. The names on them did not represent serious electors but generally unimportant persons without property whose sentiments had been appealed to by Wilberforce and his followers" (Ragatz).

In this lengthy letter he also takes aim at the anti-sugar campaign, and repeats many of the standard pro-slavery arguments including that Africans are much better off enslaved on Jamaican plantations than they would be in, for example, Dahomey. Hogg, 2099; Ragatz, p.515; Sabin, 37488.



DESCRIPTION
TOPOGRAPHIQUE ET POLITIQUE
DE LA
PARTIE ESPAGNOLE
DE L'ISLE
SAINT-DOMINGUE;

Avec des Observations générales sur le Climat, la Population, les Productions, le Caractère & les Mœurs des Habitans de cette Colonie, & un Tableau raisonné des différentes parties de son Administration;

Accompagnée d'une nouvelle Carte de la totalité de l'Isle.

Par M. L. E. MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY,
Membre de la Société Philosophique de Philadelphie.

TOME PREMIER.



PHILADELPHIE,

Imprimé & se trouve chez L'AUTEUR, Imprimeur-Libraire,
au coin de Front & de Walnut Streets, N° 84.

1796.

Printed in Philadelphia. With the Rarely Found Map

16 MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY (M-L-E.) *Description Topographique et Politique de la Partie Espagnole de L'isle Saint-Domingue; Avec des Observations générales sur le Climat, la Population, les Productions...*

First edition. 2 vols. Folding map. 8vo. Contemporary French tree calf, elaborately gilt. 8, 307, [1errata]; 311, [1]pp. Philadelphia, Imprimé chez l'Auteur, 1796. £17,500

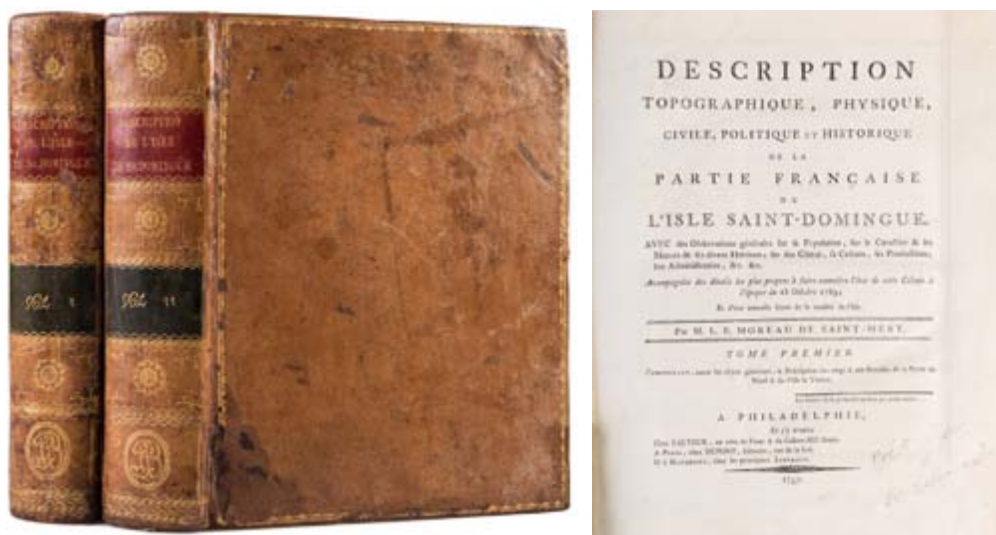
This is an extremely fine copy of a most uncommon Philadelphia imprint. It bears the engraved book label "Decrés" being that of the French Admiral who became Napoleon's last minister of the Navy. Moreau de Saint-Méry issued four works concerning Hispaniola, his "massive research projects on the history, administration and society of the old regime's most opulent colony" (Garraway, 228). In addition to his knowledge of colonial law and society, the author had privileged access to private archives and was able to solicit contributions from eminent residents of the island (*ibid*, 229). This title, which uniquely describes the Spanish part of the island is significantly rarer and very seldom appears complete with its map.

Moreau-Saint-Méry was born at Port Royal, Martinique, in 1750. At the age of 19 he went to Paris, where he later became a Counsellor of State. He became a great advocate of reforms in the French colonies and lobbied for better treatment of the enslaved. That being said, he was aware of the distress of the white population at the ambitions of the free persons of colour, and in the 1780s "took a leading role in the pre-revolutionary assemblies in Paris as a spokesperson for the colonial elite, arguing polemically against mulatto rights and the proposals of the *Société des Amis des noir*" (*ibid*).

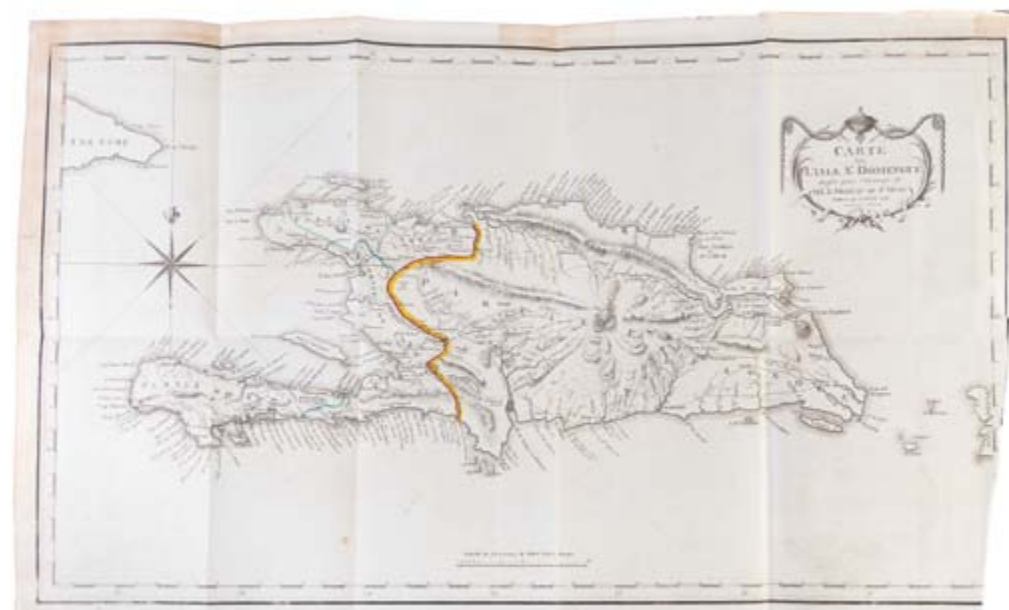
His fortunes took a turn for the worse and, hearing that Robespierre intended to have him arrested he fled from France and in 1793 went to the United States. Having lost all his property he turned his attention to business and established himself at Philadelphia as a bookseller and printer, and commenced his historical account of Haiti.

In 1797, he published his history on the French side of the island (*see item 17 below*) which included a comprehensive racial taxonomy of the island with six different classes of miscegenation. In 1798 he was able to return to France, where he died in 1819. His works on the Island of Santo Domingo and other parts of the West Indies, are of great interest and value.

Evans, 30817; Sabin, 50570; Garraway, Doris, "Race, Reproduction and Family Romance in Moreau de Saint-Mery's *Description ... de la Partie Francaise de l'isle St Domingue*" in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 38, No.2 (Winter 2005), pp.227-246.



Josephine Bonaparte's Copy



17 MOREAU DE SAINT-MÉRY (M-L-E.) *Description Topographique, Physique, Civile, Politique, et Historique de la Partie Française de l'Isle de St Domingue.*

First edition. 2 vols. Folding map & folding table. Contemporary mottled calf, elaborately gilt, red and green morocco labels to spine with “JB” gilt to base of each volume, recased with a few repairs, “Bibliothèque de la Malmaison” stamp to both title-pages. 4to. xix, [errata], 788; viii, 856pp. Philadelphia, Chez l'Auteur, 1797. £10,000

A fascinating association copy of this “milestone in Enlightenment racial theory” (Garraway, 227).

On 23 June 1762, Joséphine, the future Empress, was born at Trois-îlets, Martinique. Her family were white Creoles and owned a sugar plantation, which now operates as a museum. Joséphine spent her formative years there and it wasn't until 1779 that she moved to France in order to marry Alexandre de Beauharnais.

Moreau Saint-Méry was also born in Martinique, though in Port Royal in 1750. At the age of 19, he went to Paris, where he later became a Counsellor of State. He became a great advocate of reforms in the French colonies and lobbied for better treatment of the enslaved. This is the second work that Moreau Saint-Méry wrote on Haiti. The year prior (and also in Philadelphia) he published an account of the Spanish half of the island. Here we have his work on the French side, written during the Haiti revolution, which didn't conclude until 1804.

The work includes information on slavery, which had been abolished in 1794 and would remain so until Napoleon reinstated it in 1802. Of greater importance,

Moreau de Saint-Méry includes a “systematic classification of human variety in the colonies, unprecedented in its scope and detail. Expanding on previous taxonomies of De Pauw and Hilliard d'Auberteuil, and borrowing from eighteenth-century innovations in algebra and statistics, Moreau devised an exhaustive tabular, arithmetic and narrative typology of ‘nuances of the skin’ along a continuum between white and black. Comprising nearly twenty pages, this attempt to delineate and classify human color variation in the colony of Saint-Domingue represented much more than an experiment in Enlightenment rationality or the science of amalgamation. By meticulously theorizing the genealogical progression between black and white, Moreau de Saint-Méry fixated on the one difference that carried political consequences in Saint-Domingue—that between white and non-white, or ‘sang-mêlé’ (mixed-blood)” (*ibid.*).

He was aware that this racial taxonomy might further stoke the racial paranoia of the white population – underpinning the theory is the notion of pure whites being quickly and vastly outnumbered – and warns against it – a prescient fear given the emergence of eugenics a century later. In a direct challenge to the provisions in the *Code Noir*, the author considered the mulatto the ideal specimen combining the strength of the blacks with the delicacy of the whites. One can't help but wonder what Joséphine made of all this.

The folding map of the island includes colour lines demarcating the French and Spanish border. The folding table is an itinerary listing distances from different towns in both parts of the island.

Garraway, Doris, “Race, Reproduction and Family Romance in Moreau de Saint-Méry's *Description ... de la Partie Française de l'Isle St Domingue*” in *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 38, No.2 (Winter 2005), pp.227-246; Sabin, 50571.



Includes 18th Century Chants and Graces

18 GIBBES (Sir Philip.) Instructions for the Treatment of Negroes, &c. &c. &c.

Third enlarged edition, "reprinted with additions" 8 pages of engraved music. 8vo. Contemporary quarter calf, expertly rebaked, ownership inscription to title-page, bookplate to front pastedown, music offset. vi, 134, [8]pp. London, Shepperson and Reynolds, 1797. £11,000

From the library of the ex-East India company servant and prominent Whig Hon. Edward Monckton with his engraved armorial bookplate.

This rare volume is derived from a series of letters given as advice to the manager of the Spring-Head plantation in Barbados. Two named individuals held this post, Jacob Lewin mentioned in the preface and Francis S. Bailey. The text recommends "good" treatment of the slaves, with advice on initiation, housing, workloads, domestic management, victuals, spiritual guidance etc. Punishments are given much

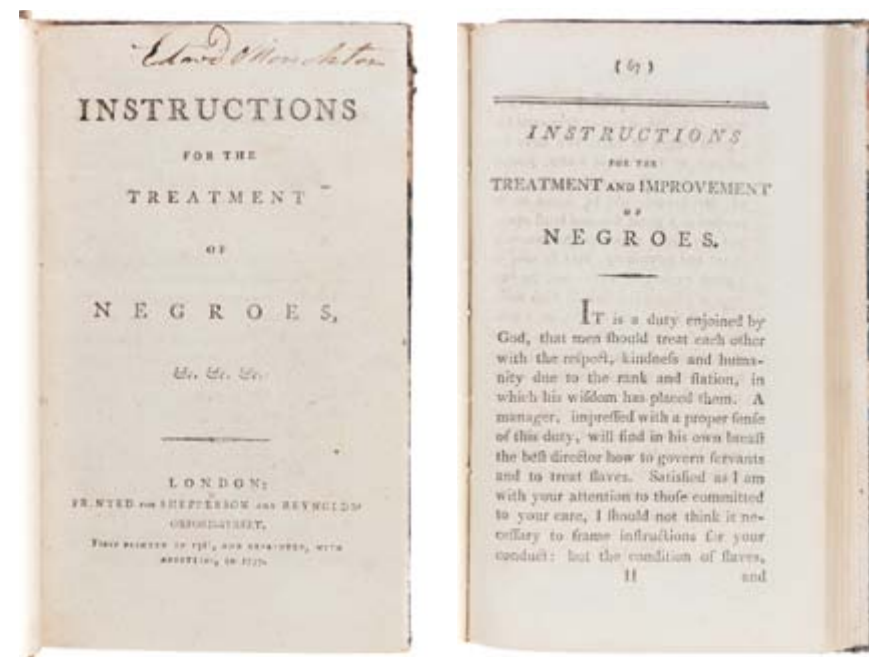
reflection and the recommendation that a malefactor be tried by a court of his peers to determine the severity of sentence. The added material include "suitable" chants and graces, such as:

A GRACE AFTER MEAT "Written by a Lady"
God loves a thankful heart:-and we
Have nothing more to give.
First, Lord we sing our thanks to thee
For all that we receive.
Our master too for this day's feast
We thank with chearful (sic) voice:
Give us to see him, Lord, thy guest,
And in his good rejoice.

The work was well-received in the press. The reviewer of the second edition in *The Monthly Review* asks "He confines his observations to the practice of masters on Barbados only. Why do not other islands employ the same lucrative methods?"

The third edition (9 copies cited in ESTC, only copies in the UK at BL, Aberdeen and Oxford) expanded considerably from the second of 1788 (5 copies, 37pp) which itself was expanded from the first in 1786 (5 copies, 30pp). The attribution to Gibbes is based on an inscribed and corrected copy. He was also the immensely rich owner of the Spring Head plantation.

Ragatz, p.433; *The Monthly Review*, vol. LXXVIII, 1788, p.161.



Wilberforce Printed for the Irish

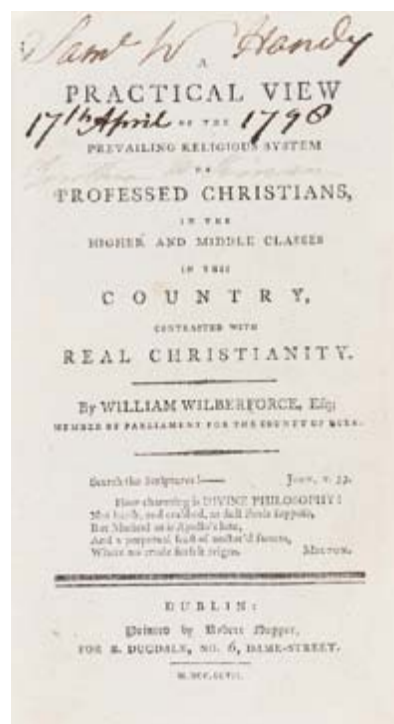
19 WILBERFORCE (William). *A Practical View of the Prevailing Religious System of Professed Christians in the Higher and Middle Classes in This Country Contrasted with Real Christianity.*

Third Edition, but the first one printed in Ireland. 8vo. A few leaves curled at corners but overall a very fresh and unsophisticated copy bound in contemporary Irish calf, spine divided into seven compartments by a single gilt file, red morocco label to spine (covers lightly chipped, label chipped and slightly rumped). x, [2], 354, [18]pp. Dublin, Robert Dapper for B. Dugdale, 1797.

£950

This edition, the first edition printed on Irish soil, was preceded by two London editions. This copy includes nine unpaginated leaves consisting of an index and advertisements called for but not always present. The work appeared in eighteen English editions before 1830 and was translated into French and Spanish in the same period which is a testament to its enduring popularity.

A fresh, unsophisticated copy of the first Irish edition of “Wilberforce’s own personal testimony” (ODNB). The immediately successful work is an important exposition of the principles driving evangelical Christians many of whom, like Wilberforce, worked tirelessly for abolition.



In the *Practical View*, “Wilberforce expounded his interpretation of New Testament teachings as a basis for a critique of the lukewarm and inadequate practice of Christianity he observed around him. He called for religious revival as an essential means of reversing national moral decline. Despite its unfashionable theme and diffuse and discursive style, the book was extensively read and very influential ... It was both a ‘the manifesto of the evangelical party of the time’ and Wilberforce’s own personal testimony, which provided a powerful rationalization of his philanthropic and political exertions over the preceding decade ... One of the key reasons for the success of the *Practical View* was that its call for national spiritual and moral renewal could be read in broad Anglican as well as specific evangelical terms” (ODNB).

Provenance: 1. Sam W. Handy, signature dated 17 April 1790 to the head of the title-page. 2. Dorthea W. Th[?], early signature to the title-page.

“Slaves are spiritual equals”

20 [ANON.] *An Authentic account of the conversion and experience of a negro.*

First edition printed in the U.K. 8vo. 4pp. Disbound. London, printed by T. Wilkins, [1795?] £750

Very rare. ESTC records the British Library and Library of the Society of Friends only in the U.K. and Huntington, McMaster, Princeton and Kansas only in America.

This edition was preceded by at least two American editions. The first surviving edition, known only by the copy residing at the American Antiquarian Society, dates 1793 and was printed in Windsor (Vermont). It numbers 12 pages and includes “a faithful narrative of the wonderful dealings of God, towards Polly Davis” that is not found in either the London edition or the Portland (Maine) edition. The Portland edition, known only by the two copies at the New York Public Library, includes a poem “Christian experience” that is also not found in either of the two known editions.

Rare account of the conversion of an American plantation slave in New York witnessed by an English traveller that concludes with a statement regarding the spiritual equality of all men in the eyes of God.

The emphasis of this work on the power of God’s grace is clear from the beginning. The anonymous author states in the second paragraph what is perhaps the theme for the entire work: “Every day’s observation convinces me that the children of God are made so by his own especial grace and power, and that all means, whether more or less, are equally effectual with him, whenever he is pleased to employ them for conversion” (1). Most striking is the message of spiritual equality, espoused by many Christian abolitionists, that the author express near the end of the work. He writes that “neither the colour of his body, nor the condition of his present life, could prevent him from being my dear brother in our dear saviour” (3).

Until the closing decades of the eighteenth century, the majority of Evangelicals who had an interest in slavery devoted their efforts to improving the spiritual well-being of the enslaved and did not question the institution itself. In this respect, *An authentic account* is typical of the Evangelical outlook. “Like many American revivalists, Anne Dutton, an English follower of Whitefield, urged slaves to accept their bondage and concentrate on the improvement of their souls. A recent biographer writes that George Whitefield’s patron, Selina Hastings, countess of Huntingdon, ‘considered slavery in a Christian establishment preferable to freedom without religion’” (Brown, 337).

Brown, C.L. *Moral Capital: foundations of British abolitionism*. Chapel Hill, 2006.



Medical Treatment on Plantations

21 GRAINGER (Dr. James). *An Essay on the more common West-India diseases ... To which are added some hints on the Management of the Negroes.*

Second expanded edition. 8vo. Later quarter morocco over marbled boards. viii, [ii], 98, [99-106ads], [1ad, 1]pp. Edinburgh, Mundell & Son, 1802.

£3,000

Grainger was both a physician and a poet. He studied medicine at the University of Edinburgh, apprenticed with George Lauder, and then spent a short stint in the army where he served under General Pulteney during the Jacobite Rebellion, and later in the Netherlands. He completed his medical studies in 1753 and moved to London. There he fell in with the literary likes of Samuel Johnson, Tobias Smollett and Oliver Goldsmith. Grainger was the rare medical professional whose income from poetry exceeded that of his surgery. He later fell out with Smollett and other members of his literary circle and commenced on a tour of the West Indies.

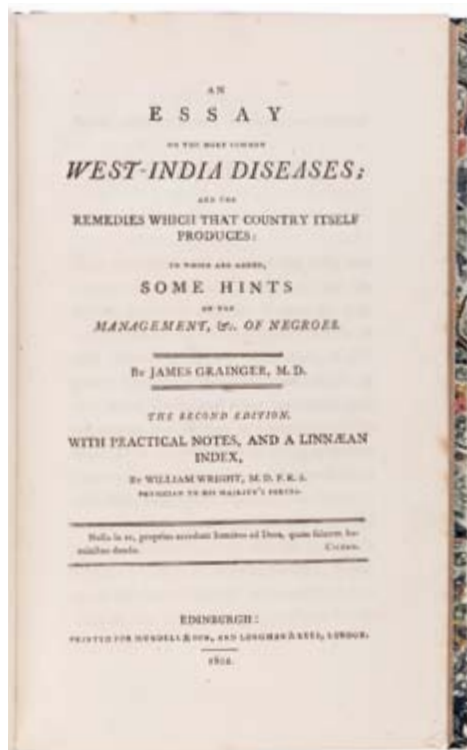
He settled on St Kitts and did better as a doctor there, well enough to buy his own slaves and indulge in the study of botany. He continued to write and published his longest and best known poem, *The Sugar-Cane* in 1764. It came with copious notes which formed the basis of this work.

Grainger's *Essay* is divided into four sections: this first being on how best to choose a slave; the second a discussion of some of the diseases that most commonly affect the enslaved, and recommending medicines and treatments; the third a discussion of leprosy in particular; in the fourth and final section

Grainger makes observations on "the food and clothing of Negroes; the sick houses where they are confined; and mention a few important medicines ... which no plantations ought ever to be without." Ragatz suggests it "should be more properly titled 'On the Management and Diseases of the Negroes'."

First published in 1764, this second edition includes "Practical Notes and a Linnaean Index" contributed by Dr. William Wright, Physician to his Majesty's Forces. This particular edition was reprinted in Jamaica the same year.

Uncommon, with one copy appearing at auction in 1911. *Ragatz*, p.373; *Sabin*, 28248.



The True First Edition

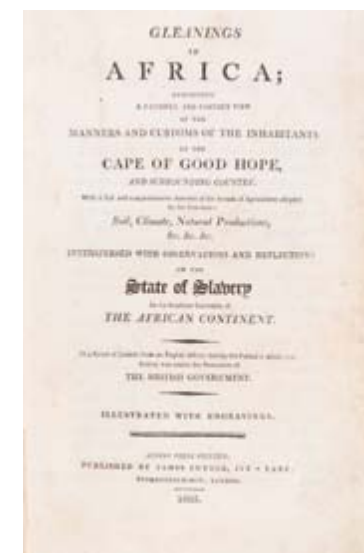
22 [AN ENGLISH OFFICER.] *Gleanings in Africa; Exhibiting a Faithful and Correct View of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of the Cape of Good Hope, and Surrounding Country. With a full and comprehensive account of the system of Agriculture adopted by the Colonists; Soil, Climate, Natural Productions &c. &c. &c. Interspersed with observations and reflections on the State of Slavery in the Southern Extremity of the African Continent.*

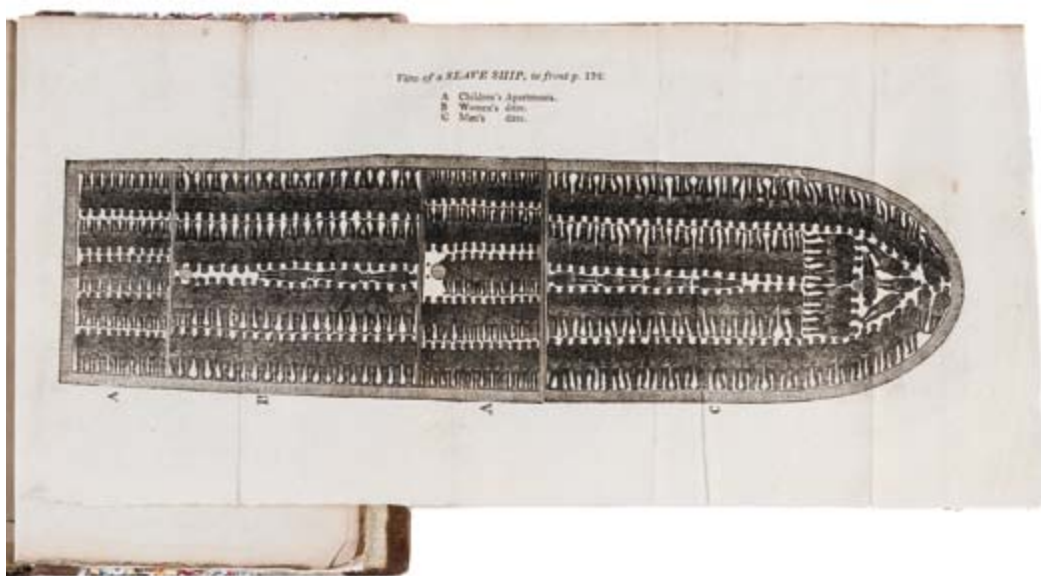
First edition. Folding frontispiece & 9 plates. 8vo. Later quarter calf, shelf worn, sporadic foxing, half of p.265-6 cut away, with black cloth slipcase. xxii, 320pp. London, James Cundee, 1805.

£1,250

Scarce. This edition precedes the first edition noted by both Theal and Mendelssohn as being published in 1806. No copies on COPAC, only seven on OCLC.

Comprised of thirty-nine letters, this account of the Cape before the rule of the Batavian Republic is more properly a vehicle for the author's view on slavery - to which he was fiercely opposed - and includes a general history of it from ancient times. The dramatic folding frontispiece and plates are all after sketches by the author. *Hosken*, p81; *Mendelssohn* I, p609; *Theal*, p116.





With the Plan of the Slave Ship

23 HOUSE OF COMMONS. Substance of the Debates on a Resolution for Abolishing the Slave Trade.

First edition. Folding plate. 8vo. Recent half calf over marbled boards, red morocco label to spine, gilt, ownership inscription to verso of title-page, some minor dampstaining, poorly opened in a couple of places, but very good. xi, [errata], 216pp. London, Phillips and Fardon, 1806. £2,250

In the lead up to the passing of the 1807 Abolition Act, the importance of the ongoing debate was recognised by the British Parliament. The preface states that "It seemed to be highly desirable to preserve the substance of these speeches, as a record of the opinions which, after near twenty years of deliberation and enquiry, were entertained by our greatest statesmen, on one of the most momentous questions which perhaps ever agitated a Legislative assembly." As such, it contains extracts from the speeches made by the likes of Wilberforce, Fox, Castlereagh, Generals Gascoyne and Tarleton in the House of Commons, and Grenville, Westmoreland, Hawkesbury, and others in the Lords.

The appendix includes Mungo Park's opinions on the slave trade, notes on the slave rebellion in Haiti, and other conflicts caused by the slave trade. Of course, there is evidence presented from those opposing abolition – Lord Sidmouth spoke on behalf of the planters and Joseph Foster Barham lobbied strongly for compensation. It also includes a depiction of the plan of the slave ship, indicating which parts are for men, women and children.

With the ownership inscription of Henry Edwards. *Sabin*, 93369.

Portrait of the Major Abolitionist

24 [RUSSELL (John), after.] [William Wilberforce Esqr.]

Proof before letters. Copper engraving measuring 349 by 274mm. Title pencilled on lower margin, with a further note on the verso. [London, William Finden, 1807.] £750

Rare in this state. Published to commemorate Wilberforce's role in the passing of the 1807 Abolition of Slavery Act, something for which he had campaigned for twenty years. Along with Granville Sharp and Thomas Clarkson, he was the leading figure in the movement.



With Wonderful Illustrations

25 SPILSBURY (Francis Brockell). Account of a Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa; performed by Her Majesty's Sloop Favourite in the Year 1805: being a Journal of the Events which happened to the Vessel, from the Time of her leaving England till her Capture by the French, and the return of the Author in a Cartel.

First edition. 9 plates (3 folding). 8vo. Recent half morocco over buckram, title page a little soiled. iv, 5-44pp. London, Richard Phillips, 1807. £500



A very good copy. The author was the surgeon on board the *Favourite* and the nine spectacular illustrations are after his own drawings. In addition to his account, which includes detailed descriptions of his medical duties, Spilsbury visits a slave ship, discusses the slave trade and its impending abolition.

In 1819, Spilsbury attempted to establish a colony in Otonabee County, Upper Canada. DCB notes that “delays in locating suitable property for the settlers, as well as deaths and illnesses in several families, had greatly demoralized the colonists” and were largely responsible for its failure.



Instructions for a Plantation Manager

26 LOWNDES (John). *The Coffee-Planter; or an Essay on the Cultivation and Manufacturing of that article of West-India Produce.*

First edition. Folding aquatint frontispiece & 5 plates. 8vo. Contemporary tree calf, extremities slightly rubbed, bookplate to front pastedown, some light offsetting. 76pp. London, C. Lowndes, 1807. £2,000

A very good copy of this influential and attractive work, written by an absentee planter for the instruction of his plantation manager. At the time of publication, coffee was an increasingly lucrative crop in the English colonies. Hugh Thomas notes, for example, that “the first time ... in the years after the revolution in Saint-Domingue, Jamaica was producing substantial quantities of coffee: 22,000,000 tons in 1804. By then, Britain was also exporting (re-exporting) as much coffee as it did wool.”

This work includes chapters on the traits and duties required for good management, the logistics and methods of coffee culture, notes on how best to lay out a property, government requirements, and there is also a sympathetic chapter on the care of the enslaved workforce, which is somewhat at odds with his statements on “philanthropic Quixotes ..., correctors of horrors and abuses, which never existed, but in their own crack-brained imaginations.” Lowndes go so far as to try revise the

nomenclature: “the treatment of that class of people from whose labour the revenue of the planter is derived - the LABOURERS; a term far more appropriate than that of SLAVES, when applied to a set of people, who possess their house, their home, their plantation, their poultry, their pigs - whose private property is as perfectly secured to them as is that of their master.”

The plates depict the various buildings as well as the machinery used to cultivate coffee.

Provenance: G. Porter, bookplate. Auction records list just two copies. *Not in Abbey; Hünersdorff, Coffee: a bibliography. A guide to the literature on coffee, p.916; Kress, B.5216; Ragatz p.305; Sabin, 42530; Thomas, Hugh, The Slave Trade, London, 2006, p.530.*

Abolition through the Eyes of an Economist

27 SIMONDE DE SISMONDI (Jean Charles Leonard). *De l'Intérêt de la France a l'Egard de la trait des Nègres...*

Second edition. 8vo. Recent quarter calf over marbled boards, spine gilt. 59, [1]pp. Geneva, J.J. Paschoud, 1814. £850

An important work by one of the leading continental economists of the nineteenth century attacking the slave trade. This is one of the few French anti-slave trade works before 1815.

“French anti-slave trade sentiment prior to 1815 was limited to a few publications, such as the book by the liberal economist Simonde de Sismondi issued in Geneva in 1814, *De l'intérêt de la France a l'égard de la traite des negres*, arguing that the slave traffic was not only inhuman but economically unsound” (Jennings). This influential tract argued, more radically, that France should forgo any claims to Saint Domingue.

Cohen summarises his position: “The liberal economist Simonde de Sismondi argues against the slave trade on both humanitarian and economic grounds. The end of the slave trade would make it possible for Africans, free from wars, to make rapid progress toward civilization ... He denounced the trade as a violation of all the precepts of Christianity and of international law ... He pointed out that, in order to develop the sugar industry, based on slavery in the Antilles, France would have to invest capital that would be otherwise available for its textile industry; thus it would be involved in an unprofitable rate of exchange.” Sismondi advocated for the establishment of free trade between France and its former colony.

In a revealing footnote on page 11, Simonde de Sismondi describes the impact that image of the slave ship *Brookes* (first published as a broadside in 1789, and in reduced form later, as he notes, in 1814) had on a contemporary French audience. Testifying to its emotional impact, even 25 years after its initial publication, and international circulation he states it “fait une impression plus profonde que tous les discours des

amis des noirs” [makes a deeper impression than all the speeches of the friends of the blacks – this is probably a reference to Cyrille Bissette’s *Club des Amis des Noirs*.]

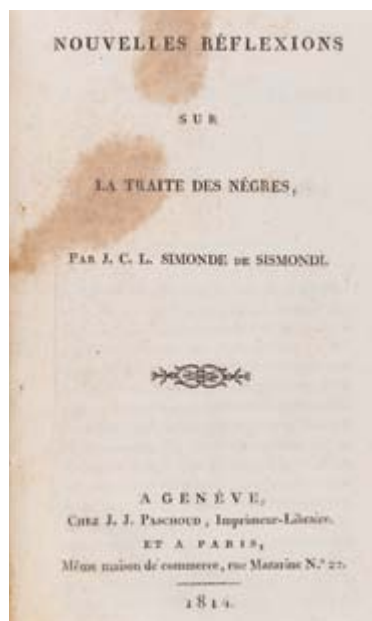
Published in the same year as the first edition, a third also appeared in 1814. The third edition is held widely, but not so the first or this second edition.

Cohen, William B., *The French Encounter with Africans*, Bloomington, 2003, pp184-5; cf. Hogg, 2482; Jennings, Lawrence C., *French Anti-Slavery: The movement for the abolition of slavery in France...* Cambridge, 2006. p.6; Sabin, 81450.

The Economist Answers his Critics

28 SIMONDE DE SISMONDI (Jean Charles Leonard). **Nouvelles Réflexions sur la traite des Nègres...**

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marbled boards, spine gilt, spotting to title-page. 46pp. Geneva, J.J. Paschoud, 1814. £1,250



One of two works the notable Swiss economist wrote condemning slavery in 1814. **This is the author’s reply to critics of *De l’intérêt de la France à l’égard de la trait des nègres*.** (See item 27 above.)

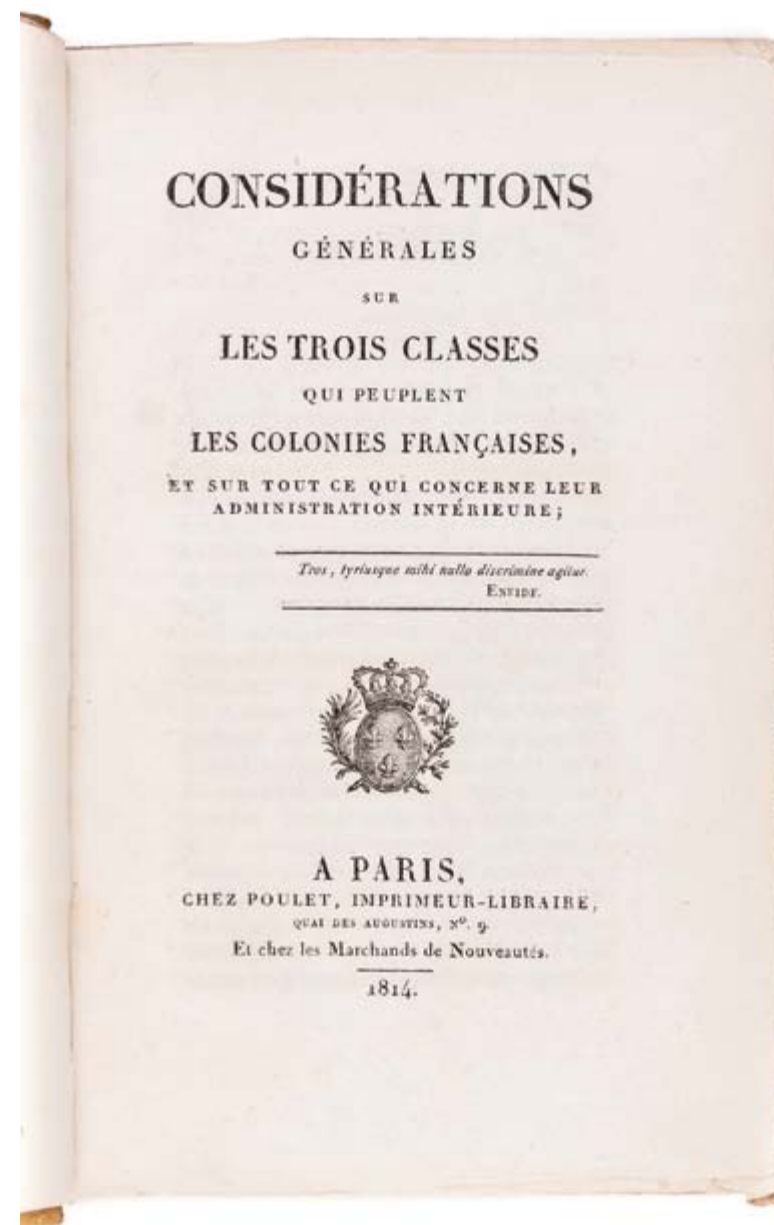
Sismondi states plainly his desire to prevent any further massacres in Haiti, he warns against mounting another disastrous military campaign, and the further ruin it might bring to French colonies. Moreover, he is aware of the wider consequences of the slave trade and hopes that its abolition would put an end to some of the crime and violence in Africa. Written in the immediate aftermath of the Treaty of Paris, the loss of Saint Domingue was still fresh in French minds and the opening pages are devoted to this.

He also addresses the notion of racism inherent in so much of the discussion, that “les negres sont une espèce particulière, et inférieure à celle blancs; que la servitude établie chez eux de toute éternité, est un

principe leur constitution, et inhérent à leur organisation...” [the blacks are a particular species, and inferior to whites; the servitude established in them for all eternity, is a principle their constitution, and inherent in their organization...] Indicative of this early stage in French abolition movement, he quotes (in his own translation) William Wilberforce’s 1807 *Letter to the freeholders and other inhabitants of Yorkshire, on the abolition of the slave trade*.

It was reprinted in the same year by John Murray who appended it to *De l’intérêt de la France à l’égard de la trait des nègres*.

Very rare. OCLC locates a single copy at BNF. Hogg, 2470; Sabin, 81458.



A Plantation Owner Writes in the Wake of the Haiti Slave Rebellion

29 OSSIEL. **Considérations Générales sur les Troi Classes qui Peuplent les Colonies Françaises.**

First edition. 8vo. Untrimmed in contemporary paper covered boards, red morocco label to spine, front hinge starting, bookplate to front pastedown and ownership inscription to half-title. viii, [5]-424pp. Paris, Chez Poulet, 1814. £7,500

An exceedingly rare defense of the slave trade. It was written by a plantation owner in Saint Domingue in the wake of the successful slave rebellion and the 1814 Treaty of Paris.

The years between 1789 and 1815 were among the most tumultuous in France's history. Indeed, there was more than one revolution during this period. Led by Toussaint L'Ouverture, the Haiti rebellion started in August 1791. During this time slavery was abolished by Royal Decree in 1794. However, the reprieve was short lived and it was reinstated just eight years later in 1802 by Napoleon in his capacity as First Consul. In fact, he sent a force of 20,000 troops to reconquer the island only to have half of them die from yellow fever and subsequently withdrew the remaining 7000. The rebellion did not finally conclude until 1804, with Haiti then being established (though not necessarily recognised) as a sovereign nation. This work was published at a particularly tense time as the Haitian government was seeking recognition of their independence from France. Furthermore, the first Treaty of Paris was signed on 30 May 1814, which included a provision for slavery to be abolished in France within five years. Significantly, it also allowed for the return of the Spanish controlled side of Saint Domingue to France, but recognized Haitian independence.

The author describes himself disingenuously as nothing more than a "simple habitant planteur à Saint-Domingue," who never dreamed of being a writer. Yet here we have a work of more than four hundred pages that is critical of the likes of Wilberforce, Clarkson, Grenville, and Fox; which quotes Rousseau and Montesquieu in his defence; and refers to the treatment of slaves in Jamaica, Suriname, and Berbice, as well as those on Madagascar, in North and South America, as well as the Pacific. This is an excellent example of the fierce and ongoing opposition to the abolition movement by those with vested interests in the West Indies.

Divided into three chapters, the first and longest gives an overview of slaves, their habits, their physical and moral organization; this is followed by a lengthy analysis and comparison of slavery with liberty. The author is determined first and foremost that plantations should be returned to former white owners, and as a corollary suggests means to be employed for the submission of the black population. The second chapter is a discussion of the customs and habits of the black population and, in particular, a look at their civil and political organisation. In the final chapter, the author considers the colonists themselves. He discusses the organization of modern colonies and the regimes best suited to them.

While the plantations were never returned to their former owners, Haiti did pay reparations to them. An *Ordonnance* was issued by France in 1825 demanding a sum of 150 million francs (later reduced to 120 million) as well as having free access to Haitian ports. In return, Haiti asked that its sovereignty be recognised. Paid in instalments, the debt was finally settled in 1883.

Provenance: manuscript label to front pastedown "Henri de Fitz-James" and to the half-title "Mr Le Duc de Fitz-James".

OCLC locates just three copies at BNF, Berlin and Newberry. No copies on auction records. *Araujo, Ana Lucia, Reparations for Slavery and the Slave Trade, London, 2017, p.87; Sabin, 15944.*

Macaulay Responds to the 1814 Treaty Of Paris

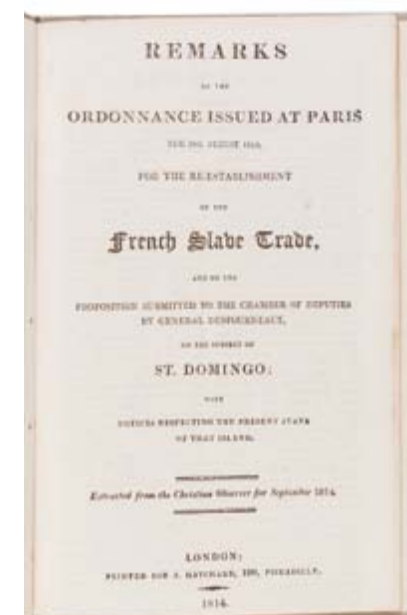
30 [MACAULAY (Z.)] Remarks on the Ordonnance Issued at Paris the 29th August 1814; for the Re-Establishment of the French slave Trade, &c. Extracted from the Christian Observer for September 1814. [Bound with:] [MACAULAY (Z.)] **Observations on that part of the late Treaty of Peace with France, which relates to the African Slave Trade.** Extracted from a Periodical Work for June 1814.

8vo. Modern paper boards, red morocco label to spine, gilt, trimmed a little close. 17, 12pp. London, 1814. £450

Zachary Macaulay, "the indefatigable abolitionist, travelled as a passenger on an English slave ship about 1795 to discover what such a voyage was like. Macaulay, characteristically, kept his notes in Greek to fool the crew" (Thomas). He later became the governor of Sierra Leone, a position he held with some success, and in 1799 left a thriving community behind.

These two pieces were written in response to the 1814 Treaty of Paris, which restored some of France's colonies, including the Spanish half of Haiti. Macaulay suggests that, despite the inclusion of provisions for the abolition of the slave trade within five years, France would be able to resume slavery in Haiti with people from West Africa.

Hogg, 2480; Sabin, 69480, 56502; Thomas, Hugh, The Slave Trade, London 2006, pp.412, 498.



The Thorpe Controversy

31 MACAULAY (Zachary), editor. A Letter to His Royal Highness the Duke of Gloucester, President of the African Association. Occasioned by a Pamphlet lately published by Dr. Thorpe, late Judge of the Colony of Sierra Leone, entitled "A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq."

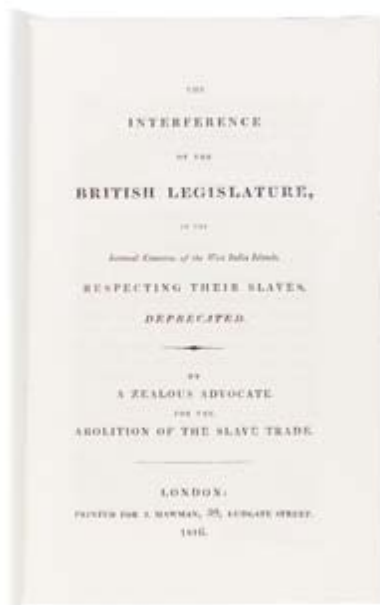
Second edition, enlarged. 8vo. Stitched as issued, uncut and unopened, half title and last leaf a little soiled, interior clean and bright. ii, 62, [ii], 6opp. London, John Hatchard, 1815. £250

A very good copy of Zachary Macaulay's detailed and lengthy response to Robert Thorpe's pamphlet accusing him of using the African Institution to his own advantage while he held the position of Secretary. "Macaulay declares that the attack was the result of his refusal to loan Thorpe money and holds that his letters had been misquoted. [Furthermore, he] denies that the Sierra Leone Company's commerce had been managed by himself, that he practically monopolized the trade of the colony and that he had used his position as an Institution official to profit personally" (Ragatz).

The sixty-page appendix reprints Macaulay's letters to Lord Mulgrave, Thomas Ludlam, Viscount Castlereagh, Edward Cooke, and includes a chapter "On the means of establishing a commercial intercourse between the western coast of Africa and the River Niger", as well as lists of vessels importing produce to, and exporting produce from, Sierra Leone in the given period. Published in the same year as the first, this second edition corrects some typographical errors and adds some extra passages. Ragatz, p.522.

Defending the Interests of Planters

32 [ANON.] The Interference of the British Legislature, in the Internal Concerns of the West India Islands, respecting their Slaves, deprecated. By a zealous advocate for the abolition of the slave trade.



First edition. 8vo. A fine copy in plain modern blue wrappers. [iv], 58pp. London, J. Mawman, 1816. £750

The work commences with a few comments on the abolition movement, the passing of the 1807 act, and discusses the Sierra Leone Company and the work of the African Institution. Calling himself a zealous advocate for the abolition of the slave trade, the author notes that an "attempt is on foot to induce parliament to interfere in a peculiar manner in the regulation of the internal government of the colonies in the West Indies." He is referring to the registry of slaves bill which he feels infringes on the rights of said colonies.

Taking up the cause of the West Indian Planters, the author makes it clear that the abolition

of slavery is one thing, but the emancipation of the blacks, is quite another: "It is against the introduction of it into the legislature that we contend, and that not only on account of its essential defects, but as it is evidently the beginning of a series of measures, by which the planters in the West Indies will be kept in perpetual anxiety." He continues, "The projectors, having once tasted the sweets of their legislation, will not be content with this interference... Their intention is evidently to hurry on to the completion of their favourite scheme, the speedy Emancipation of the blacks..."

Written in the twilight years between the acts of 1807 and 1833, this defensive work actually incorporates many of the standard defences of the slave trade: that it could not be truly evil if permitted by God, and that the enslaved enjoy a better life than they would if they'd remained in Africa.

The last copies recorded on the market were at Sotheby's in 1992 and Francis Edwards in 1948. Hogg, 2523; Kress, 21649; Ragatz, p.433; Sabin, 34904.

The Thorpe Controversy Continues

33 MATHISON (Gilbert). A Short Review of the Reports of the African Institution, and of the Controversy with Dr. Thorpe, with Some Reasons against the Registry of Slaves in the British Colonies.

First edition. 8vo. Very good indeed in a modern binding of quarter red morocco with red cloth boards, spine gilt, some minor spotting. [ii], x, 78pp. London, Wm. Stockdale & James Asperne, 1816. £250

Another instalment on the controversy over Robert Thorpe's accusations against Zachary Macaulay's role in the African Institution and Sierra Leone Company and the wider implications of a slave registry. He agrees with Thorpe and charges that funds collected by the Institution were used improperly and moreover, that "[i]nstead of civilizing the Africans, the Institution was attacking Caribbean planters" (Ragatz).

Mathison was born in Kingston, Jamaica, in 1767 and inherited Wemyss Castle sugar Estate in 1774. He lived in London from 1795-1808, and in 1811 published *Notices Respecting Jamaica* 1808, 1809, & 1810.

Provenance: ink inscription on half-title reads "Holland House", which was the foremost Whig salon in the period. Ragatz, p.526; Sabin, 46857.

Extinguishing the Agricultural System of the Colonies

34 JORDAN (G[ibbes]. W[alker].) An Examination of the Principles of the Slave Registry Bill, and of the Means of Emancipation...

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter calf over marbled boards, red morocco label to spine, gilt. 147, [1]pp. London, T. Cadell & W. Davies, 1816. £300

The idea of a Slave Registry Bill was apparently first mooted at a meeting on 6 January 1812. Sir Samuel Romilly records it: "I attended a meeting at [James] Stephen's with Wilberforce, Brougham, and Babington, to consider what measures it would be necessary to take, to make effectual the Act which has passed for the abolition of the slave trade. The most effectual method appeared to all of us to be the establishing a registry for slaves in all the islands, and a law that every negro not registered should be free." Shortly thereafter a bill was tabled in Parliament, it was to apply only to Trinidad, which had no independent legislature of its own. If that went well, a bill to apply to the entire British West Indies would then be considered.

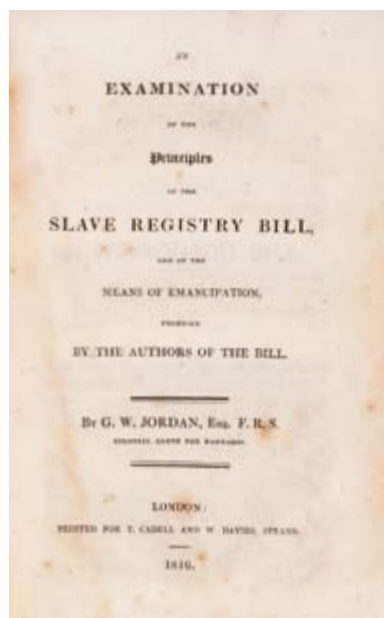
The bill met with fierce resistance from plantation owners, specifically regarding the provision that "that the absence of a name from the register should be taken as conclusive evidence of the person's right to freedom..." (Schuyler), but despite threats of non-compliance, most did. In 1815, Wilberforce brought the bill to Parliament, and was met with further resistance from the better organised West India Planters and Merchants, and later from colonial legislatures.

Jordan was the colonial agent for Barbados, based in London. "He dismissed arguments in favour of registration and claimed that its real aim was to induce the British government to intervene in the internal affairs of the West Indian Colonies, so as to bring the end of slavery" (Lambert). Furthermore, the introduction of a poll tax to fund the registry would restrict any attempt to increase the slave population and thus would reduce care for pregnant slaves, for example.

Walker argues that complete abolition "would violate political rights, endanger personal safety, extinguish the agricultural system of the Colonies, with the commerce

dependent thereon, and overwhelm in general ruin the expensive establishments and valuable plantations of the islands." **This pamphlet also includes all of the resolutions adopted by the Barbados House Assembly on 17 January 1816.**

Ragatz p. 517; Sabin, 36647. Lambert, David, *White Creole Culture, Politics and Identity During the Age of Abolition*. Cambridge, 2005. p114; Paugh, Katherine, *The Politics of Reproduction* ... Oxford, 2017; Romilly, Sir Samuel, *The Life of Sir Samuel Romilly written by himself...* London, 1842. vol 2, p.229; Schuyler, R.L., "The Constitutional Claims of the British West Indies" in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol.40, No.1, pp1-36.



Abolishing the Slave Trade in Spanish America

35 FERDINAND VII & RUIZ DE APODECA Y ELIZA (Juan de), Viceroy of New Spain. **EL REY = La introduccion de negros esclavos en America...**

Letterpress broadside measuring 590 by 410mm. A fine copy signed in ink, Ferdinand VII ink stamps on verso, old folds a touch worn. Mexico City, Real Palacio de Mexico, 29 April, 1818. £9,500

An important broadside disseminating the Royal decree abolishing slavery throughout the Spanish Empire, which included California and Texas as well as Mexico. The decree was issued on 19 December 1817. **This is its first separate American printing, signed by the Viceroy of New Spain.**

Although Spain had already made a decree in 1804 allowing the slave trade to continue for just another 12 years, **the Spanish abolition should be seen in the context of the English 1807 Act, as well as the 1814 Vienna Congress** (the Congress is, in fact, mentioned in the decree). For one, Spain continued to traffick slaves after 1816; and, more importantly, having been restored to the throne following the defeat of Napoleon, Ferdinand VII of Spain had little recourse other than to comply with Britain's abolitionist agenda in exchange for recognition and protection. **This Royal decree was a direct by-product of a new British-Spanish treaty signed in 1818.**

It's worth noting that the Spanish king came under some pressure to resist abolishing the slave trade: "the planters of Havana had offered \$2,000,000 to the Spanish government to be allowed to maintain the trade legally, and another \$500,000 every year afterwards while the private permission remained. In the event, it was the influential General Castaños y Aragoni ... who persuaded the King to concede over the issue in the interest of maintaining good relations with Britain. Spain, he said, needed British help against the United States' threats both to New Spain and to Florida" (Thomas).

Ferdinand VII commences the decree by trying to contextualise the practice of slavery in America, and more importantly, distance himself from direct responsibility. He states that slavery arose initially due to [quotations translated from the Spanish] "the impossibility that the Indians could occupy themselves in different useful jobs ... born from a lack of knowledge of the comforts of life ... required therefore that the benefits of the mines and tilling and the cultivation of the earth be handed over to most robust and active arms. This providence, which did not create slavery, but rather took advantage of its existence due to the savagery of the Africans..." **William Wilberforce, who actively lobbied for a general abolition to be included in the Vienna Congress,** might have been behind the inclusion of a further clause in the decree which directly contradicts one of the most frequently proffered arguments for slavery: while being exposed to "the advantages that civilization brings with it, nonetheless subjecting them in slavery to a harder life than the one they led while free in their country."

DON JUAN RUIZ DE APODACA Y ELIZA.

LOPEZ DE LETONA Y LASQUETI, Gran-Cruz de las Reales Órdenes de San Fernando y San Hermenegildo, Comendador de Ballaga y Algarra en la de Calatrava, y de la condecoración de la Lis del Vende, Ministro del Supremo Tribunal del Almirantazgo, Teniente General de la Real Armada, Virrey, Gobernador y Capitan General de esta N. E., Presidente de su Real Audiencia, Superintendente general Subdelegado de Real Hacienda, Minas y Ramo del Tabaco, Juez Conservador de este, Presidente de su Real Junta, y Subdelegado general de Correos en el mismo Reyno, &c.

EL Sr. Secretario del Real y Supremo Consejo y Cámara de Indias, en esta ciudad de 17 de Diciembre del año próximo pasado, me ha remitido la Real Cédula que sigue.

« EL REY. En la introducción de negros esclavos en América fué una de las primeras providencias que dictaron sus augustos predecesores para el fomento y prosperidad de aquellos vastos Dominios, muy poco tiempo después de haber sido descubiertos. La imposibilidad en que estaban los indios de ocuparse en diferentes trabajos útiles, aunque penosos, nacida del ningún conocimiento que tenían de las comodidades de la vida, y de los enormes progresos que entre ellos había hecho la sociedad civil, obligó por entonces que el beneficio de las minas y el reconocimiento y cultivo de las tierras se entregasen a brazos más robustos y activos. Esta providencia, que no creaba la esclavitud, sino que aprovechaba la que ya existía por la barbarie de los Africanos para salvar de la muerte a sus prisioneros, y aliviar su triste condición, lejos de ser perjudicial para los negros de África, transportados a América, les proporcionaba no solo el incomparable beneficio de ser instruidos en el conocimiento del Dios verdadero, y de la única Religión con que con el Supremo Ser quiere ser adorado de sus criaturas, sino también todas las ventajas que trae consigo la civilización, sin que por eso se les sujetara en su esclavitud a una vida más dura que la que traían siendo libres en su propio país. Sin embargo, la novedad de esta sistema requería mucho discernimiento en su ejecución, y así lo que la introducción de negros esclavos en América dependió siempre de personas particulares, que sus augustos predecesores consideraban segun las circunstancias de los lugares y de los tiempos, hasta que la de negros baxos fué generalmente permitida, así en los puertos nacionales como extranjeros, por Reales cédulas de veinte y ocho de Septiembre de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco, doce de Abril de mil setecientos noventa y ocho, y veinte y dos de Abril de mil ochocientos quince, en cada una de las quales se señalaban diferentes plazos para dicha introducción: todo esto manifestaba bien claramente que la crísis salvadora de los Reinos consistía en sugetar estas providencias con el menor inconveniente de la ley. Pero en el año de mil ochocientos veintiseis, como por Reales cédulas de la de veinte y dos de Abril de mil ochocientos quince, cuando la divina Providencia me remitió al trono a que me había destinado, y de que intente firmemente desempeñar un ingenuo desempeño. Las turbulencias y disensiones suscitadas en mis Dominios de América durante mi ausencia, fiaron desde luego mi soberana atención; y meditando con incansable devoción las providencias más adecuadas para restablecer el buen orden en aquellos remotos países, y darles todo el fomento de que son capaces, no tardé en advertir que habían variado enteramente las circunstancias que movieron a mis augustos predecesores para permitir el tráfico de negros baxos en las costas de África, y su introducción en ambas Américas. En ellas ha crecido prodigiosamente el número de negros indígenas, y aun el de los libres, a beneficio de la regulación nueva del Gobierno, y de la criminalidad y temple humano de los propietarios españoles; el de blancos se ha aumentado mucho, y el clima no es tan perjudicial para ellos como lo era antes de que las tierras se descubrieran y pudiesen en cultivo. Así el bien que resultaba a los habitantes de África de ser transportados a países cultos no es ya tan urgente y exclusivo, desde que una nación ilustrada ha tomado sobre sí la gloriosa empresa de civilizarlos en su propio suelo; al mismo tiempo la general cultura de Europa, y el espíritu de humanidad que ha dirigido sus últimas transacciones al rescate el tráfico que la depravación del régimen del usurpador había destruido hasta sus bases, han excitado un celo general entre los Soberanos de Europa de ver abolida este tráfico; y en el Congreso de Viena, conviniendo en la necesidad de la abolición, se ocuparon en facilitarlo por medio de las negociaciones tan amistosas con las Potencias que tenían Colonias, encontrando en mi aquella disposición que era conveniente a tan laudable empresa. Estas consideraciones movieron mi Real ánimo a informarme de personas instruidas y ajenas de la prosperidad de mis Estados sobre los efectos que en ellos produciría la abolición del tráfico de negros. Vistos sus informes, deseché el acierto en materia de tanta transcendencia y gravedad, los remití a mi Consejo de las Indias con Real orden de extirpe de Junio de mil ochocientos quince para que me comunicara lo que se le ofreciere y pareciese. Agregados todos estos copiosos materiales y las autoridades del conato, y visto lo que el propio Supremo Tribunal me ha expuesto en su consulta de quince de Febrero de mil ochocientos diez y seis, correspondiendo a la confianza que en el tengo depositada, y confundiéndome con su parecer sobre la abolición del tráfico de ne-

gros, y convenido con el Rey del Reyno unido de la Gran-Bretaña e Irlanda por un tratado solemnemente sobre todos los puntos de derecho antiguos que versan en esta notable transición, y luego luego de ser llegado el tiempo de la abolición, convalidados debidamente los intereses de mis Estados de América con los sentimientos de mi Real ánimo, y los deseos de todos los Soberanos mis amigos y aliados, he venido en resolver lo siguiente:

Artículo 1.º Desde hoy en adelante prohibo para siempre a todos mis vasallos, así a los de la Península como a los de América, que vayan a comprar negros en las costas de África que están al norte del Ecuador. Los negros que fueron comprados en dichas costas serán declarados libres en el primer Puerto de mis Dominios a que llegare la embarcación en que sean transportados: esta con la reserva de su carga será clasificada para mi Real Hacienda, y el comprador, el Capitan, el Maestre y Piloto interinamente condenados a diez años de Prisión en las Islas Filipinas.

Artículo 2.º La pena señalada en el artículo precedente no comprende al comprador, Capitan, Maestre y Piloto de las embarcaciones que salgan de cualquiera Puerto de mis Dominios para las costas de África que están al norte del Ecuador antes del día veinte y dos de Noviembre del presente año, a los quales les concedo además el plazo de seis meses contados desde dicha fecha para que concluyan sus expediciones.

Artículo 3.º Desde el día 30 de Mayo de mil ochocientos veinte, prohibo igualmente a todos mis vasallos, así a los de la Península como a los de América, que vayan a comprar negros en las costas de África que están al sur del Ecuador, bajo las mismas penas impuestas en el artículo primero de esta mi Real cédula; concediendo además el plazo de cinco meses desde dicha fecha para que puedan concluir sus viajes los buques que hubiesen sido habilitados antes de la citada fecha de treinta de Mayo de mil ochocientos veinte, en que ha de cese totalmente el tráfico de negros en todos mis Dominios, tanto en España como en América.

Artículo 4.º Los que mandan del puerto que concedo hasta treinta de Mayo de mil ochocientos veinte a comprar negros en las costas de África, que están al sur del Ecuador, no podrán transitar, aun cuando sea en buque, por cada dos toneladas del porte de su buque; y si alguno contraviniere a esta disposición, será castigado con la pena de perder todos los que transportare, los quales serán declarados libres en el primer Puerto de mis Dominios a que arribare la embarcación.

Artículo 5.º Por el castigo de cinco negros por cada dos toneladas, no se hará cuenta con los que nacieren durante la navegación, ni con los que fueren vendidos en el buque en clase de marineros o de criados.

Artículo 6.º Los buques extranjeros que introduzcan negros en cualquiera Puerto de mis Dominios, deberán hacerlo con sujeción a las reglas que se prescriben en esta mi Real cédula, y en caso de contravención serán castigados con las mismas penas que se señalan en ella. « Y siendo mi Real voluntad que todo lo referido se circule a mis Dominios de América y Asia para su total puntual observancia, lo comencé a mi Supremo Consejo de las Indias por Decreto señalado de mi Real mano con fecha de veinte y dos de Septiembre pasado; y publicado en el propio Tribunal en primero del corriente se acordó su cumplimiento, y que al mismo efecto se expediese esta mi Real cédula: por la qual mando a mis Virreyes, Presidentes, Audiencias, Comandantes generales, Gobernadores e Intendentes de las Indias, mi Islas adyacentes y de Filipinas, guarden, cumplan y ejecuten, y hagan guardar, cumplir y ejecutar quanto queda ordenado en esta mi soberana determinación, sin le al contravenir, ni permitir se vaya ni contravenga a su tenor en manera alguna, haciéndolo publicar por Bando para el mismo fin, no solo en las Capitales, sino tambien en las demás Poblaciones de Partido de sus respectivos territorios, y comunicándolo igualmente cada uno en su territorio a los Tribunales, Justicias, Autoridades, y personas a quienes de cualquier modo leuzada su cumplimiento. Y de esta mi Real cédula se tomasen tales en los Capitanes generales del expresado mi Consejo. Fecha en Madrid a diez y nueve de Diciembre de mil ochocientos diez y seis. Yo EL REY. Por mandado del Rey nuestro Señor. En San Juan de los Rios.

Y para que esta soberana resolución tenga en todos sus partes el más puntual y debido cumplimiento, mando se publique por Bando en esta Capital, y en las demás Ciudades, Villas y lugares del distrito de este Virreynato, circulándose a los Tribunales, señores Intendentes y demás Jefes y Ministros a quienes toca su observancia. Dado en el Real Palacio de México a 29 de Abril de 1818.

Juan Ruiz de Apodaca.

Por mandado de S. E.

The decree includes six articles declaring the trafficking of African slaves to be illegal, punishable by ten years' imprisonment in the Philippines, and ordering confiscated human cargo to be declared free upon landing. The articles allow for a graduated abolition, declaring new slave trade from Northern Africa to be immediately illegal, while the trade south of the Equator was to end on May 30, 1820. Grace periods were provided for slave vessels already departed before these deadlines. Further human cargo was henceforth limited to five persons for every two tons capacity, which was an attempt to ameliorate the horrific conditions marring the transport of human beings across the Atlantic.

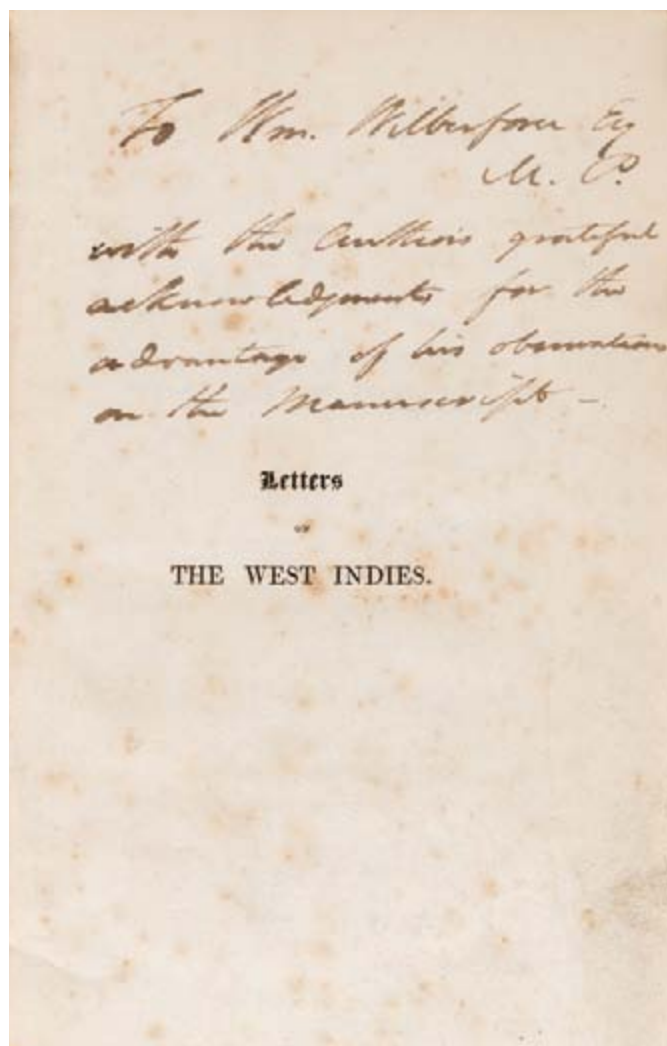
News of the law was dispatched to Cuba and Mexico simultaneously. Just four weeks prior to this broadside, it appeared in the pages of *Memorias de la Real Sociedad economica de la Habana*. However, rather than sitting anonymously in the pages of the government gazette, here it is properly announced, signed and stamped. The Viceroy of New Spain, Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, has signed it along with his paraph. It is additionally signed by Jose Ignacio Negreros y Soria on behalf of King Ferdinand.

The newly-independent Latin American republics ended the legal slave trade over the next decade or so, though slavery itself continued for some years as did the smuggling of slaves from West Indies and Africa. Mexico, for example, banned the trade in 1824 and abolished slavery altogether in 1829. This was a major grievance with slave-owning settlers from the United States living in Texas and a key factor contributing to the Texas Revolution of 1835.

Very rare. OCLC locates just three copies. There are no copies in auction records. Not in Palau, not in Sabin. Hinks and McKivigan, eds., *Encyclopedia of Antislavery and Abolition*, Volume 2, p. 417; Hugh Thomas, *The Slave Trade*, London, 2006, pp 598-604; *Memorias de la Real Sociedad economica de la Habana*, no. 15, 31 March 1818, pp. 97-102.

The translations were supplied by Laura Brown of Brandeis University.





*Inscribed to William Wilberforce
from a Fellow Berbice Committee Member*

36 [WILBERFORCE (William).] WALKER (James). *Letters on the West Indies*.

First edition. Large 8vo. Front free endpaper, half-title, and title lightly foxed, but otherwise a very good copy in contemporary condition with two edges untrimmed, in the original blue boards and paper spine (corners and edges worn, upper board very loose but being held by two bands), carefully preserved in a custom-made cloth box. xvi, 268pp. London, printed for Rest Fenner by (S. Curtis), 1818. £7,500

An evocative presentation copy inscribed by the author to fellow Berbice Committee member William Wilberforce “for the advantage of his observations on the manuscript” of the present work.

Walker and Wilberforce worked closely together on the Berbice Committee which governed the Crown estates in the Caribbean colony of Berbice. He inscribed this copy on the half-title: “To Wm. Wilberforce Esq. M.P. with the author’s grateful acknowledgement for the advantage of his observations on the manuscript”. Walker’s inscription shows the close involvement of the two men in producing *Letters on the West Indies*.

This copy also has underlinings, marginal reading marks and the occasional annotation in pencil in the text and on the rear endpapers which may be Wilberforce’s, as he often read pencil in hand, although none of his actual ownership markings appear. One of the passages marked in the margin would no doubt have been of interest to Wilberforce: “I have heard of a planter who named one of his drivers Wilberforce. It might no doubt be a vast gratification to the elegant mind of this gentleman to unite the sound of this name with the sound of the lash” (Hayward, 220).

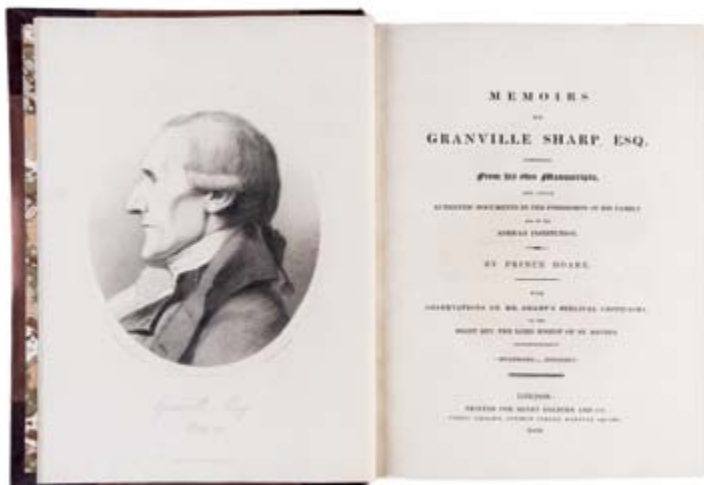
Initially a separate Dutch colony, Berbice fell to Britain in 1803. “Sugar estates in Berbice which were the property of the Dutch government became the property of the British crown - along with the slaves attached to them. Managed at first by the new colonial administration, the estates and the condition of the slaves appear to have ‘sustained a progressive deterioration in all respects’” (ibid, 166). After failing to find a private individual to manage the estates who would abide by certain conditions affecting the welfare of the slaves, a commission was formed, headed by William Wilberforce and five others, to manage the estates.

“Wilberforce must have seen the ‘Berbice Commission’ as a heaven sent opportunity to demonstrate the practicality of the humanitarian approach – to refute the constant argument that the ideas of the Abolitionists spelt ruin for the estates, their owners and the trade in their produce. Certainly he welcomed the commission and, with kindred spirits as fellow commissioners, was well set to carry the campaign to the plantations, and to some of the worst plantations anywhere” (ibid, 167).

In *Letters on the West Indies*, Walker puts forth, in a series of nine letters, his observations on his time as an administrator for the estates owned by the British crown in Berbice. Perhaps the most interesting letter is letter VIII (pp. 206-224) “On the African Character” where Walker suggests, among other things, that self-restraint and prudence in governing slaves would prevent stirrings: “A general habit, among colonists, of controlling their own spirits, would be worth nine-tenths of the militia force” (219).

Hayward (Jack Ernest Shalom). *Out of Slavery: Abolition and After*. Routledge, 2013.





The Life of a Key Abolitionist

37 SHARP (Granville). HOARE (Prince) ed. Memoirs of Granville Sharp, Esq.

First edition. Portrait frontispiece. 4to. Modern half morocco over buckram, spine gilt, a crisp copy. xxxii, 524, [ii], xxxiii, [1]pp. London, Henry Colburn, 1820. £500

Granville Sharp ranks alongside William Wilberforce and Thomas Clarkson, as one of the most important members of the English abolition movement.

Granville Sharp's interest in abolition was the product of a chance meeting at his brother's house in about 1765. William Sharp was treating Jonathan Strong, who had been wounded by his owner, David Lisle. When Strong was arrested as an escaped slave, Sharp helped secure his release and defeated Lisle's legal challenge. Sharp then began to devote himself seriously to the abolitionist cause. He corresponded with the likes of Anthony Benezet and Benjamin Rush and secured one of the great early victories for the abolitionist cause in 1772 when Lord Mansfield's ruling on James Somerset's case was "widely interpreted as stating that any slave setting foot in England immediately became free" (ODNB).

In 1786, he produced a *Short Sketch...* in support of the establishment of the colony at Sierra Leone, and the next year, was one of the twelve founding members of The Society for the Abolition of the Slave Trade. Among them, Sharp was the sole proponent of immediate abolition, though naturally supportive of the efforts of Wilberforce and Clarkson, whose motion for gradual abolition was passed in the House of Commons in 1792 (though failed to get through the House of Lords committees) and supplied much information toward it.

In the preface to this work, the most important achievements of Sharp's life are listed thus: 1. The Liberation of African Slaves in England, 2. The Colonization

of Sierra Leone, 3. The Establishment of the Episcopacy in America, and 4. The Abolition of the Slave Trade. Complete with the subscribers' list which includes the likes of William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Thomas Fowell Buxton, Charles Macarthy (Governor of Sierra Leone), and American envoy, Richard Rush. Ragatz, p.512.

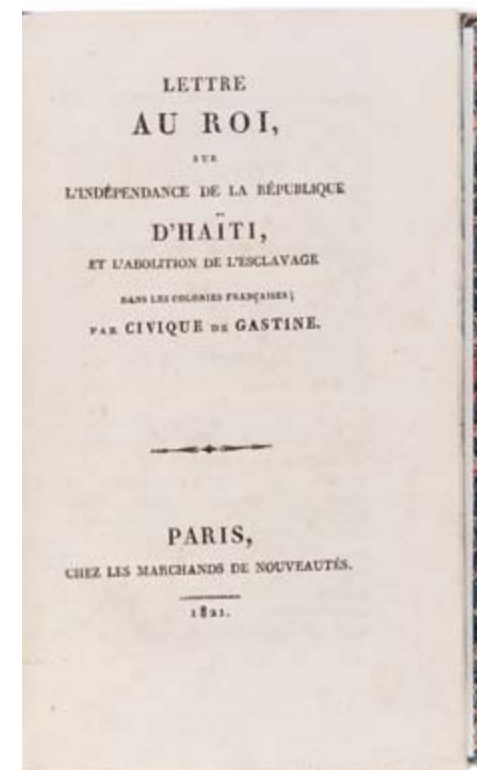
The Birth of a New America

38 [HAITI.] GASTINE (Civique de). Lettre au Roi sur l'indépendance de la République d'Haïti, et l'abolition de l'esclavage...

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marble boards, spine gilt. 84pp. Paris, Chez les Marchands de Nouveautés, 1821. £1,250

The French abolitionist and dedicated pamphleteer, Civique de Gastine (1793/4-1822) was prolific in the years from 1818-22, and particularly focused on Haiti. Gastine here writes a forceful entreaty to Louis XVIII to respect and recognise Haiti as a sovereign nation, and to abolish slavery, which Napoleon had reintroduced in 1802. Compared to a corrupt Europe ("excréments de la civilisation"), Haiti's "heureux insulaires" agricultural produce, as well as their arts, science and commerce contribute to the splendour and wealth of the nation.

Yun Kyoung Kwon outlines Gastine's position: "He regarded the birth of Haiti as the beginning of the birth of the New America, a point of view he related with great enthusiasm in a series of pamphlets and books. He claims that the old colonial system was 'a masterwork of injustice and iniquity.' What would it have been like, he asks, if the money wasted on the expedition to Saint-Domingue had been invested in improving Brittany or Bordeaux? According to Civique de Gastine, the engine of future prosperity was production not conquest. The era of conquest was over, for any type of domination would lead to the destructive relationship of master and slave. The mutually productive relationship to be established between French industry and Haitian natural resources should be formed as a model for a new world order. Haiti would be an entrepôt of France: France needed a maritime base in the Americas, while Haiti required French help to



sustain its civilized state. After Haitian independence, Civique de Gastine predicted that American colonies ‘will be for us new kinds of colonies, more conforming to human rights and to the enlightenment of the century.’”

The 1814 Treaty of Paris restored many, but not all, of France’s colonies to her including the Spanish half of Haiti. For years afterwards there was much talk, and at least one attempt by the French to recapture the formerly French side of the island. Scarce. 7 copies on OCLC: NYPL, Duke, BnF (2 copies), BL (2 copies) & Paris. *Yun Kyoung Kwon*, “When Parisian Liberals spoke for Haiti: French anti-slavery discourses on Haiti under the Restoration, 1814-30” in *Schoolman*, M (ed). *Abolitionist Places*, Oxford, 2013. p.115.

The Cause of the Colonies is Lost

39 [MARTINIQUE.] *Mémoire pour les Colonies Françaises.*

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marbled boards, spine gilt. Ms. note “Mr Tobin” to the half-title. 67, [1]pp. Saint-Pierre, Imprimerie de Fleurot, December, 1821. £3,750

A crisp copy of this rare Martinique imprint and important statement on behalf of the colonial lobby.

“Following the fall of Napoleon in 1814-1815, recovery was slow at first, for trade circuits were disrupted, and French colonial staples faced stiff competition from foreign producers. Martinique, Guadeloupe, and Bourbon restructured themselves to concentrate almost exclusively on sugar production to compensate for the loss of Saint-Domingue. This process required heavy investment, and it increased colonial costs ... **Restructuring and the high price of slaves obtained through illicit traffic also drove up colonial indebtedness.** Problems were exacerbated by the fact that French colonial sugar proved unable to compete on the world market. **Some protective tariffs were introduced already in 1814, but it was not until 1822 that the colonial lobby succeeded in persuading the Ultras to pass high tariffs that practically excluded foreign sugar from the French market**” (Jennings).

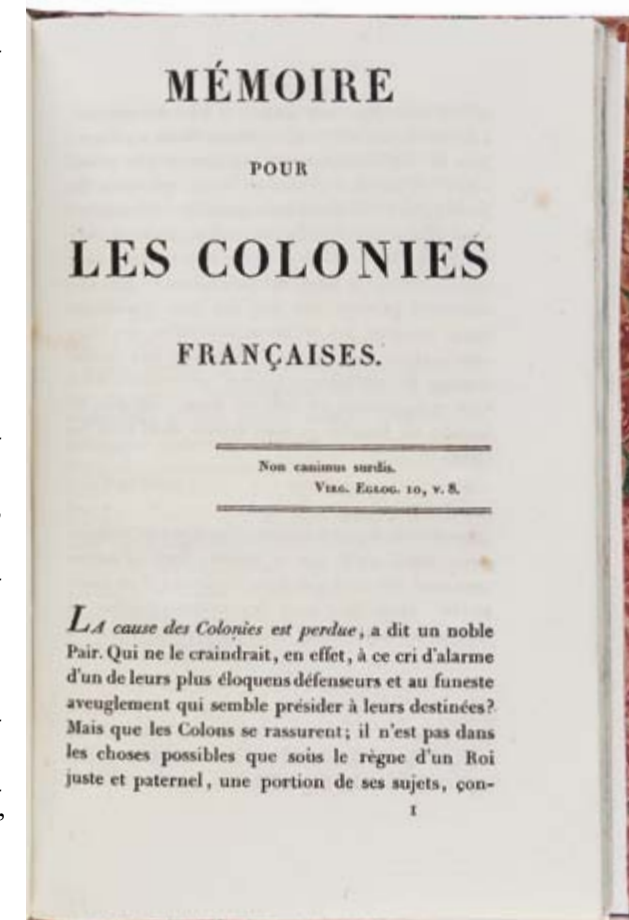
It should be said that in terms of sugar production, Martinique was a middling colony compared to the prodigious St. Domingue on the one hand, and near destitute Guyana on the other. It was an industry that had historically been beset with problems. For example, “Martinique was plagued by ants though the 1770s, and both Windward Isles [the other being Guadeloupe], suffered when their main product, semi-refined sugar, fell from favour in the 1780s” (Geggus). These issues had repercussions over the years as Martinique tended to receive a greater proportion of enslaved women and children, while the more productive men went to more profitable colonies. Which isn’t to suggest that slavery was in any sense mitigated. Just eight months following this publication, the colonial provostial court was established in Martinique.

“[T]he court had been extremely murderous in the months after it was created in the late summer of 1822, executing large numbers of slaves after summary judgments, despite the fact that evidence was often lacking” (Savage). A full scale slave rebellion on Martinique would take place in February 1831.

This work argues for better treatment of colonists on Martinique and Guadeloupe, specifically in the form of reduced taxes on sugar: “Cependant des Chambres pourraient encore repousser des tarifs inexorables, qui ne remplissent les coffres de l’État, qu’en tarissant les sources de sa prospérité et en voilant tous les principes de la justice distributive” [However, Chambers could still repeal these inexorable tariffs, which fill the coffers of the State, and dry up the sources of its prosperity and conceal the principles of distributive justice]. Moreover, the author argues that “le poids general des impôts” is particularly unfair given that the French economy was flourishing.

The final section of the work includes tables listing the amount of revenue brought in from the sugar trade over the years 1816-20, lists of items necessary for the survival of the colony in 1788-89 as well as 1819-21, including rice, flour, candles, beef, tallow, corn, wine (bottles from Bordeaux and Provence are listed separately), soap, nails, and wood. **The figures show that amount of said goods required have tripled and in some instances their costs have doubled.**

OCLC locates copies at BL, BnF and Harvard only. No copies listed on auction records. *Not in Kress; Sabin*, 47526. *Geggus, David*, “The French Slave Trade: an overview” in *The William and Mary Quarterly*, Vol. 58, No. 1, *New Perspectives on the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (Jan., 2001), pp. 119-138; *Jennings, Lawrence*, *French Anti-Slavery...* Cambridge, 2006, pp.25-6; *Savage, John*, “Black Magic and White Terror: Slave Poisoning and Colonial Society in Early 19th Century Martinique” in *Journal of Social History*, Vol. 40, No.3, Spring 2007, pp. 635-662.





Rare View of a Plantation During the Last Great Sugar Boom

40 [STRUTH (Sir William).] View of the Prospect Plantation, the property of Sir William Struth...

Brown ink on wove paper measuring 200 by 260mm. Removed from an album with a few remnants to the verso. St Vincent, 25 July, 1821. £4,250

Inscribed "To Sir William from an old friend in S.V. 25 July 1821."

This beautifully rendered original pen and ink drawing depicts Prospect Plantation, one of St. Vincent's prime estates, as it appeared in 1821, during the island's last great sugar boom. **The property was owned by Sir William Struth, the former mayor of Bristol and the future Acting Governor of St. Vincent.** The anonymous artist, who dedicated the work to Struth in the lower register, was clearly not a professional draftsman, yet has created a highly attractive work, in the style of a line engraving. Sir William would certainly have treasured this gift from "an old friend".

Struth was a wealthy Tory politician, landowner and merchant. He had a history of owning property in the Caribbean. In 1802, he purchased the Clifton Hill and Endeavour plantations in Trinidad, both of which he sold shortly thereafter at a profit. He was elected to Bristol City Council in 1812, served as mayor from 1814-15, and

was knighted in 1815. Struth owned Prospect as early as 1817 and it was his primary residence in the years 1817-33. It was one of three plantations Struth owned on the small but fertile island: the other two being Fancy and Richmond Hill. This image captures the plantation during the last great sugar boom, just prior to the 1833 complete abolition act, which would have an enormous impact on the fortunes of plantation owners in the Caribbean. In fact, Struth submitted a compensation claim for Prospect Plantation, dated February 22, 1836, in which he claimed that the estate employed 315 slaves, setting his compensation at £8,513 18s 10d, then a very large sum. In spite of Struth's political connections, his claim was rejected and the Struth family never received so much as farthing in emancipation compensation.

The view is taken from a perspective looking southwest, from a height above the plantation, which is located on the southernmost tip of St. Vincent. Prospect's Great House, windmill (for grinding cane) and supply buildings occupy the top of a rise, surrounded by palms, while the cane fields cover the slopes below. The sea beyond features several sailing vessels, while Bequia, the northernmost of the Grenadines, about ten kilometres distant, appears in the background. Prospect's original wooden plantation buildings, as depicted on the present view, do not survive, having perished during the later nineteenth century. However, the Prospect name lives on to this day as one of St. Vincent's prime residential and vacation areas, only a few kilometres from the island's capital, Kingstown.

Original manuscript drawings of West Indian plantations from the slavery era are rare, and this one is particularly desirable as it records an important property owned by an eminent presence on the island. Its survival can be attributed to having been pasted into an album.

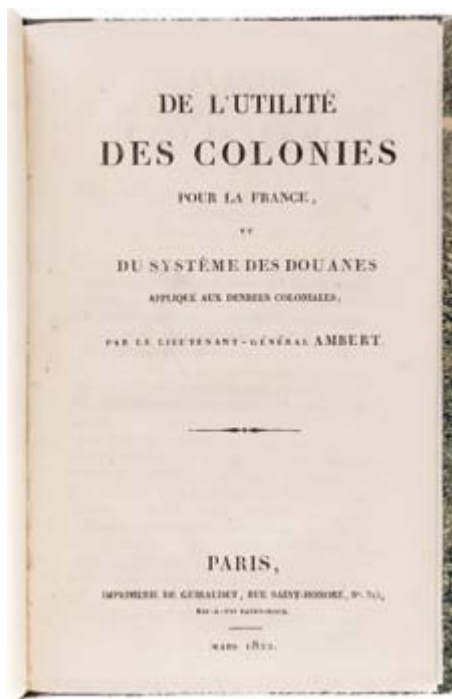
A Former Colonial Governor Defends the Colonies

41 AMBERT (Lieutenant-General Jean-Jacques). *De l'Utilité des Colonies pour la France, et du système des douanes appliqué aux denrées coloniales.*

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marbled boards, spine gilt, errata slip laid down on last page. 58pp. Paris, Imprimerie de Guiraudet, 1822. £750

A very good copy of this scarce work by Jean-Jacques Ambert (1765-1851), a French naval officer who saw action in both the American and French Revolutionary wars. He later served as military governor of Guadeloupe, though was recalled in 1808 after an outbreak of civil unrest. He remained active and interested in the island, and in this 1822 pamphlet, he responds to a speech given in 1821 by Jacques Claude Beugnot, which he considers detrimental to the interests of the colonies.

As ever, the work focuses on the sugar industry and Ambert cites relevant import and export figures in Havana and Brazil by way of comparison with Martinique and



Guadeloupe. He broadens the remit of the discussion and complains of the dominance of the English empire with its colonies in New South Wales, New Zealand, Hawaii, Tahiti and the Cape of Good Hope. He also takes aim at Spain's colonial outposts in Peru and Chile. **The work provides much insight into the competing factions and debates in France, which mirrors the similar struggle that English abolitionists faced with their own colonies in the West Indies.**

In 1847, Ambert was appointed president of the Colonial Council, whose purpose he declared "should be a double action of enlightening the authorities and directing public opinion." On July 10 the same year, he reported to the King that Guadeloupe was "prepared to advance with France 'down the path of emancipation' if this were accompanied by association to guarantee

the maintenance of work" (Jennings).

Jennings, L, *French Anti-Slavery The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in France, 1802-1848*. Cambridge, 2006, p.78, 251.

Author's Presentation Copy

42 [MACAULAY (Zachary).] *Negro Slavery; or, A View of some of the more prominent features of that state of society, as it exists in the United States of America and in the colonies of the West Indies.*

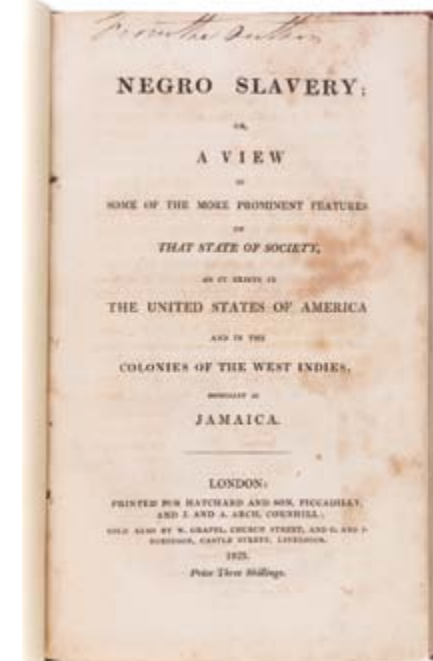
First edition. 8vo. Very good in quarter calf, red morocco label to spine, gilt, title-page a little toned, some contemporary ms annotations to the text, presentation inscription to title-page. [ii], 118, [2]pp. London, Hatchard and Son, 1823. **£650**

A very good copy of this compilation of testimonies agitating for the complete abolition of slavery in the years following the 1807 Act.

It was compiled by Zachary Macaulay, the prominent abolitionist and later Governor of Sierra Leone. "Macaulay became secretary to the Sierra Leone Company, a position he held until 1808, when the colony was transferred to the British crown. It was not long, however, before he became absorbed in philanthropic endeavours, chief among them being the campaign to abolish the slave trade. Macaulay, of

course, had direct personal experience of the trade, both in the West Indies and on the west coast of Africa, and it was this experience that he brought to bear on the early nineteenth-century abolitionist movement ... By the early 1820s Macaulay was contemplating a more direct attack on West Indian planters, namely the gradual abolition of slavery itself. In 1823 he helped to organize the Anti-Slavery Society and became editor of its monthly publication, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (see item 58). Through the pages of the *Reporter* and pamphlets such as *East and West India Sugar* (1823) and *Negro Slavery* (1824), both of which were published anonymously, Macaulay sought to reveal the true enormities of the slave system and to counter claims that conditions in the West Indies had actually improved. In doing so, he provided Thomas Foxwell Buxton and his colleagues with the evidence on which they could take their stand in the Commons" (ODNB).

While the work commences with a strident condemnation of slavery in the United States, it focuses particularly on Jamaica (more than half the book is devoted to it) and evidence is drawn from Rev. Thomas Cooper, Dr. John Williamson, and that printed in the *Royal Gazette of Jamaica*. Howes, N34; Ragatz, p.522; Sabin, 52269.



A Classic in Emancipationist Literature

43 CLARKSON (Thomas). *Thoughts on the Necessity of Improving the Condition of the Slaves in the British Colonies.*

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marbled boards, red morocco label to spine, gilt. [iv], 60pp. London, Richard Taylor, 1823. **£500**

The remarks first appeared in *The Inquirer*, in which Clarkson argued for "the adoption of ameliorative measures and the preparations of the slaves for early freedom ... it gained a tremendous circulation and was very influential in forming public opinion" (Ragatz).

However, the preface to this work states that Clarkson "would have materially qualified those parts of his essay which speak of the improved Condition of the Slaves in the West Indies since the abolition, had he then been acquainted with the recent evidence obtained upon that subject. His present conviction certainly is, that he has

overrated that improvement and that in point of fact Negro Slavery is, in its main and leading feature, the same system when the Abolition controversy first commenced.” Ragatz, p.490; Sabin, 13497.

Assessing the Impact of Abolition

44 [WILMOT HORTON (Robert John).] *Slaves ... to inquire into the state of the Africans, who had been condemned to His Majesty under the Acts abolishing the Slave Trade, and who had been apprenticed or otherwise disposed of, in the West Indies.*



Parliamentary Papers on the Slave Trade No. 442. Folio. A clean copy. 28pp. London, 18 June, 1824. £600

Before serving as Governor of Ceylon, Wilmot Horton occupied the position of Under-secretary for War and the Colonies from 1821 to 1828. His aide-de-camp was Thomas Moody, who was the Parliamentary Commissioner reporting on the conditions of the enslaved and free black population in the West Indies.

The pamphlet probes some of the issues about the impact of abolishing the slave trade, and the fate of fugitive slaves in the West Indies. One of the papers discusses the expenses related to the maintenance of captured slaves on the island of Antigua. In addition, the

report addresses the some of the issues regarding runaway slaves from the French colonies and the sale of “apprentices”.

Rare: OCLC locates a copy at NYPL and two at JCB. Not in COPAC.

A Bold Plan for Abolition

45 A MERCHANT. *An Attempt to Strip Negro Emancipation of its Difficulties as well as its Terrors.*

First edition, second issue. 8vo. Stitched as issued in original self-wrappers, unopened, rear wrapper a little spotty, inside is clean and bright. 48pp. London, J.M. Richardson, 1824. £350

Two issues were published in the same year, the other by G. Woodfall, who also printed this copy.

The author’s bold plan for emancipation suggests that “slaves should be made public property. Only by securing ownership over them would the country have a positive right to legislate for and, in time, free them ... The negroes should be purchased out of public funds at £100 each. Colonial annuities should be issued to cover the expense and the blacks should be hired out to their former masters at a rate sufficient to meet interest charges and progressively extinguish the debt within 37 years” (Ragatz).

He argues that it’s in the interests of the planter to consider abolition of slavery and emancipation, and concludes on an ominous note: “The late proceedings in Parliament have strangely agitated all classes; and God grant that we may not ... have a practical lesson, to teach us that the necessity of immediate measures existed long since, and that it is now too late to interfere; for if an insurrection unfortunately breaks out in any one quarter where it can gain head, insubordination, with all its dreaded consequences of rapine and murder, will spread like wildfire, and our colonies are for ever gone!”

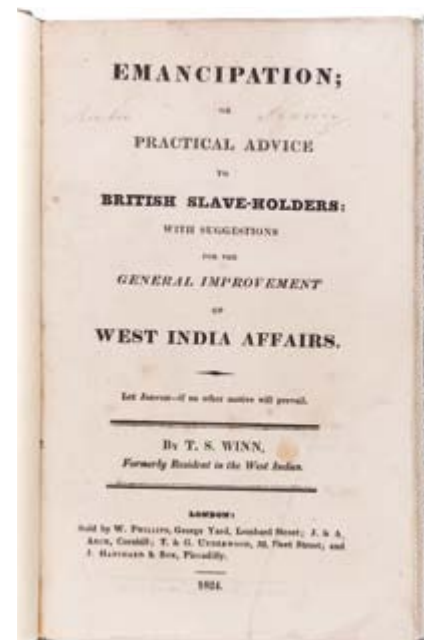
Ragatz, pp.416-7; Sabin, 81897.

An Attack on Complacent Plantation Owners

46 WINN (T.S.) *Emancipation; or, Practical Advice to British Slave-Holders: with Suggestions for the General Improvement of West India Affairs.*

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter calf over marbled boards, red morocco label, spine gilt, a couple of faint marks and ink signature on title page. Very good. [iv], 112pp. London, W. Phillips, 1824. £350

Winn recognised that the 1807 Abolition Act was only a precursor to the complete abolition that would be achieved in 1833. He was strident in his attack on the complacency of plantation owners, noting both the Maroon War and then “the neighbouring example of St. Domingo, [which] on a larger scale, and with more terrible consequences, should never be forgotten by the white inhabitants of other islands.” He also thought it impractical to continue to enforce slavery. The author, formerly a plantation owner himself, states that



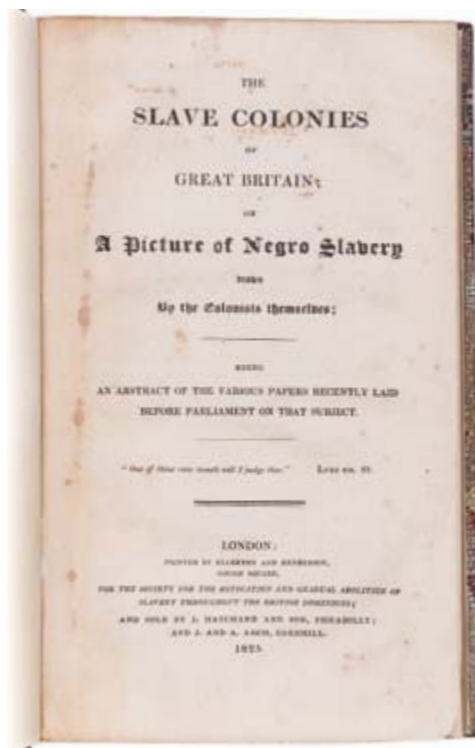
besides “the guilt and danger of persevering in the system of slavery – much of its supposed profits and advantages are erroneously taken for granted, from thoughtlessness, habit, prejudice, and miscalculation.”

Kress, 24345; Ragatz, p.570; Sabin, 104782.

Efforts Toward Amelioration

47 MACAULAY (Zachary), editor. *The Slave Colonies of Great Britain; or, A Picture of Negro Slavery drawn by the Colonists themselves...*

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marbled boards, small corner tears to one corner of first and last (little soiled) pages. [iv], 164pp. London,



Society for the Mitigation and Gradual Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, 1825. £750

Macaulay’s work prints extracts of papers presented at the 1824 session before the House of Commons on the subject of Colonial Slavery. There are thirteen in total, some of which consider the amelioration of conditions, manumission, or provide a census. This is further evidence of the shift in popular opinion towards complete abolition and the subsequent legislation. Indeed, the appendix reprints the instructions to West Indian governors from Earl Bathurst “respecting the reforms in the system of colonial slavery which His Majesty’s ministers were desirous of introducing.”

The information gathered from colonies itself provides a mixed picture.

Where in the Bahamas the legislature provides “a useful specimen of the kind and degree of improvement to be expected, when it is left to the colonists themselves to reform their slave code”, Dominica “was for a time very vehement in its denunciations against the efforts of abolitionists to ameliorate the conditions of the slaves, and took pains to produce a general confederacy of the West-Indian colonies for the maintenance of the whip in its plenitude of power.”

This is a reminder of the extent of the ongoing slave trade in the British colonies after the 1807 Abolition Act, as it includes notices on Antigua, Bahamas, Barbados,

Berbice, Bermuda, Cape of Good Hope, Demerara, Dominica, Grenada, Honduras, Jamaica, Mauritius, Monserrat, Nevis, St. Christopher, St. Lucia, St. Vincent, Tobago, Trinidad, and the Virgin Islands.

This first edition is scarce, the last copy at auction was in 1977. *Ragatz, p.458; Sabin, 82063.*

Haiti as a French Protectorate

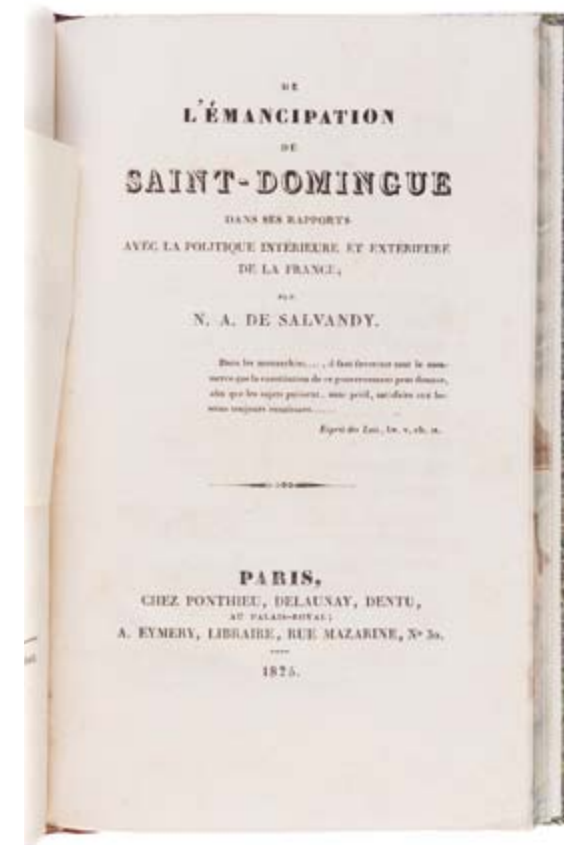
48 SALVANDY (N[arcisse].A[rchille]. de). *De L’Émancipation de Saint Domingue dans ses rapports avec la politique intérieure et extérieure de la France...*

First edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marbled boards, spine gilt. 81, [1]pp. Paris, Chez Ponthieu, 1825. £1,500

A rare and level-headed contribution to the ongoing debate in France on how to best protect trade. This was written during a turbulent period following the French Revolution, the loss of Haiti, the rise and fall of Napoleon, and the signing of a treaty which obliged France to abolish slavery: all of which had significant effects on the French economy.

“For some time, French merchants had demanded reestablishment of trade with Haiti as a cure for the decline in French foreign trade, while the clandestine trade in coffee and indigo increased between French ports and Haiti. Supporting this position, N.A. de Salvandy, a well-known liberal writer and politician, proposed that reopening trade with Haiti could bolster stagnant French commerce. He reminded his readers that Saint-Domingue had been lost to France for a long time, but the island had never ceased to be fertile” (Kwon).

While Salvandy posits that Haiti might become a French protectorate, he stridently opposes the idea of reconquering Haiti for France and writes: “other than some young publicists ... no one would want to go



and undertake an expedition two thousand leagues from its shores for a cause that is evidently condemned by fortune. No serious man has proposed it" (Daut's translation).

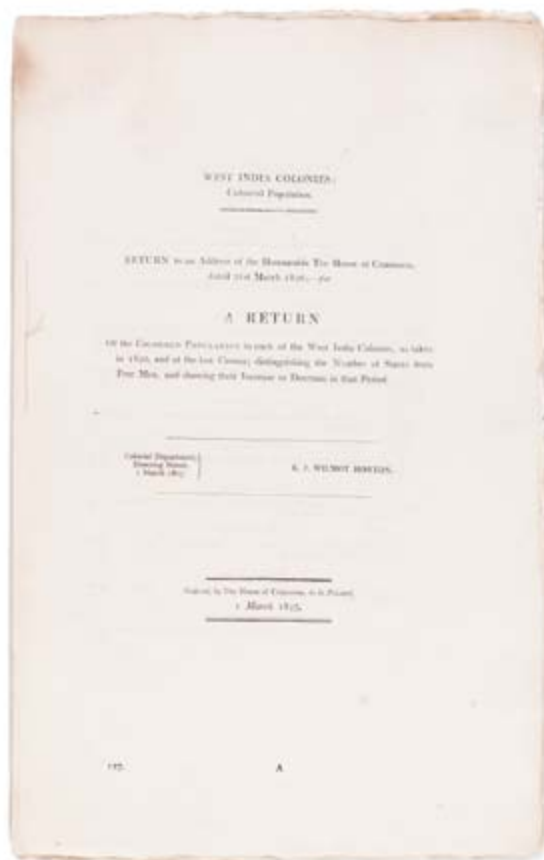
Rare: the last copy to appear on the market was at Otto Lange in 1923.

Sabin, 75867; Daut, Marlene, *Tropics of Haiti: Race and the Literary History of the Haitian Revolution, 1789-1865*. Liverpool, 2015. p.107; Kwon, Yun Kyoung, "When Parisian Liberals spoke for Haiti: French anti-slavery discourses on Haiti under the Restoration, 1814-30" in Schoolman, M (ed). *Abolitionist Places*, Oxford, 2013. p.115.

Census of Enslaved and Free Men

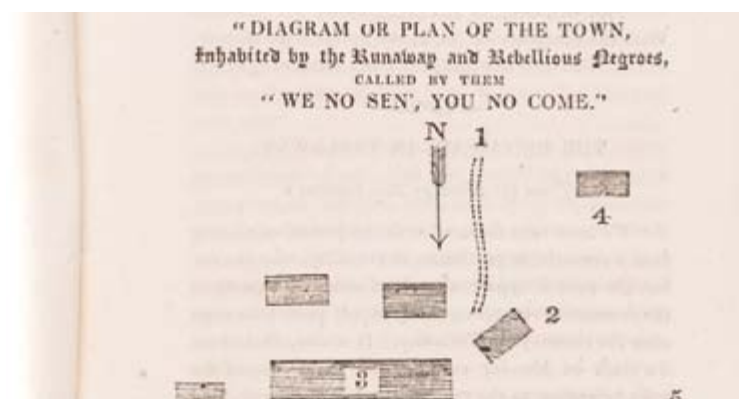
49 [WILMOT HORTON (Robert John).] West India Colonies: Coloured Population. Return to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, dated 21st March 1826.

Parliamentary Papers on the Slave Trade No. 127. Folio. Removed from a volume, uncut, ms. pagination. 1opp. [London] House of Commons, 1 March 1827. £750



Published under the supervision of R. J. Wilmot Horton of the Colonial Department, this record of the comparative number of free and enslaved men between 1820 and 1826 in the West India colonies includes Antigua, Bahamas, Grenada, Honduras, Tortola and Trinidad. No reliable information was available for Jamaica and so has been omitted.

The controversial Slave Registry Bill was passed in 1815, to better control the illicit slave trade after the passing of the 1807 Abolition Act. Further acts were passed in 1816 and 1817 to give a more accurate returns, which were made until 1834. Slave populations were also being watched carefully as plantation owners were no longer able to enslave labour and were thus reliant on procreation among their existing slaves.



An Attack on Runaway Slaves

50 ALFRED. Account of a Shooting Excursion on the Mountains near Dromilly Estate, in the Parish of Trelawny, and Island of Jamaica in the month of October 1824!!!

Second edition. Diagram of town to text. 8vo. Stitched as issued in self-wrappers, a little toned. 24pp. Birmingham, B. Hudson, 1828. £250

This brief pamphlet relates "the attack made by a party of islanders upon a long established camp of runaway slaves who had lived peaceably for years in a forest settlement" (Ragatz). It commences with excerpts from contemporary reports in the *Montego Bay Gazette*, *Cornwall Courier*, and *Cornwall Gazette* and includes a diagram of the camp.

The author states unequivocally that "the barbarous excursions which have been described, did not owe their origin to any insurrection of the Negroes, in consequence of any discussions in British Parliament, nor, in consequence of any stir made by British people in their behalf. They were, as the account itself testifies, wanton, cold-blooded excursions, on the part of the white inhabitants in Trelawny, to root up a runaway settlement, which had subsisted eleven years, without offense or molestation to the neighbourhood."

The first edition was published in 1825. This second edition includes a note on the Amelioration Act of 1826. Ragatz, p.409.

A Minister States his Case for Abolition

51 DUNCAN (Henry.) Presbyter's Letters on the West India Question; addressed to the Right Honourable Sir George Murray...

First edition. 8vo. Stitched as issued, upper wrapper foxed. [ix], 10-139, [1]pp. London, T & G. Underwood, 1830. £350

In addition to his activities as a minister, Duncan also lent his support to radical causes such as the abolition of slavery. This work comprises an excellent statement of his beliefs in that regard. The letters originally appeared as a column in the *Dumfries and Galloway Courier*. Duncan has slightly revised them for publication in book form. They address the ongoing problem of slavery in the British colonies in the wake of the 1807 Abolition Act. The letters discuss slavery as anathema to Christianity, and at length the condition of slaves and means for their improvement.

Ragatz summarises Duncan's argument: "If the negroes continued to advance as rapidly as they had in recent times, their complete emancipation would soon be generally regarded as a measure required both by duty and by the interests of the planters themselves."

Henry Duncan is perhaps best known as the founder of the Ruthwell Savings Bank, the very first of its kind. *Ragatz*, p.500.

A Symbol of the Abolitionist Cause

52 [WEDGWOOD (Josiah) after.] Framed plaquette with a wax figure of a crouching slave in chains appealing to Britannia, "Britannia set me free" lettered above the slave, with ship in background.

Oval, measuring 160 by 155mm with frame, interior measures 90 by 90mm. Painted on ceramic or ivory, gilt mount, in contemporary turned wooden frame behind a concave glass with painted white designs that frame the image. Original glue visible under figure of enslaved person, cracked in spots, left foot chipped with minor loss to front of foot, some light chipping to paint under glass but overall in good condition. [Great Britain, c. 1830]. £5,000

The image adapts the iconic design of the crouching figure with the motto "Am I not a man and a brother" first produced as a jasperware medallion by Wedgwood in 1787-88.

The formation of Thomas Clarkson's Committee for Effecting the Abolition of the Slave Trade in 1787, "marked the transition of what had hitherto been the Quaker cause of abolition into a national, even an international movement. The emblem of the campaign – designed by the master potter Josiah Wedgwood, a committed supporter – was an inspired piece of propaganda, worthy of the Roman Church, or of a modern political party" (Thomas). The image had an immediate impact – women wore the medallions as necklaces or transformed them into bracelets, pins, or brooches to identify themselves with the abolitionist cause. The image also appeared on the title-page of works written in support of the abolitionist cause.

After Wilberforce's Bill to abolish the slave trade finally passed in 1807, activists turned their attention to the abolition of slavery and the image of the of the enchained, crouching slave was adapted for a new use.



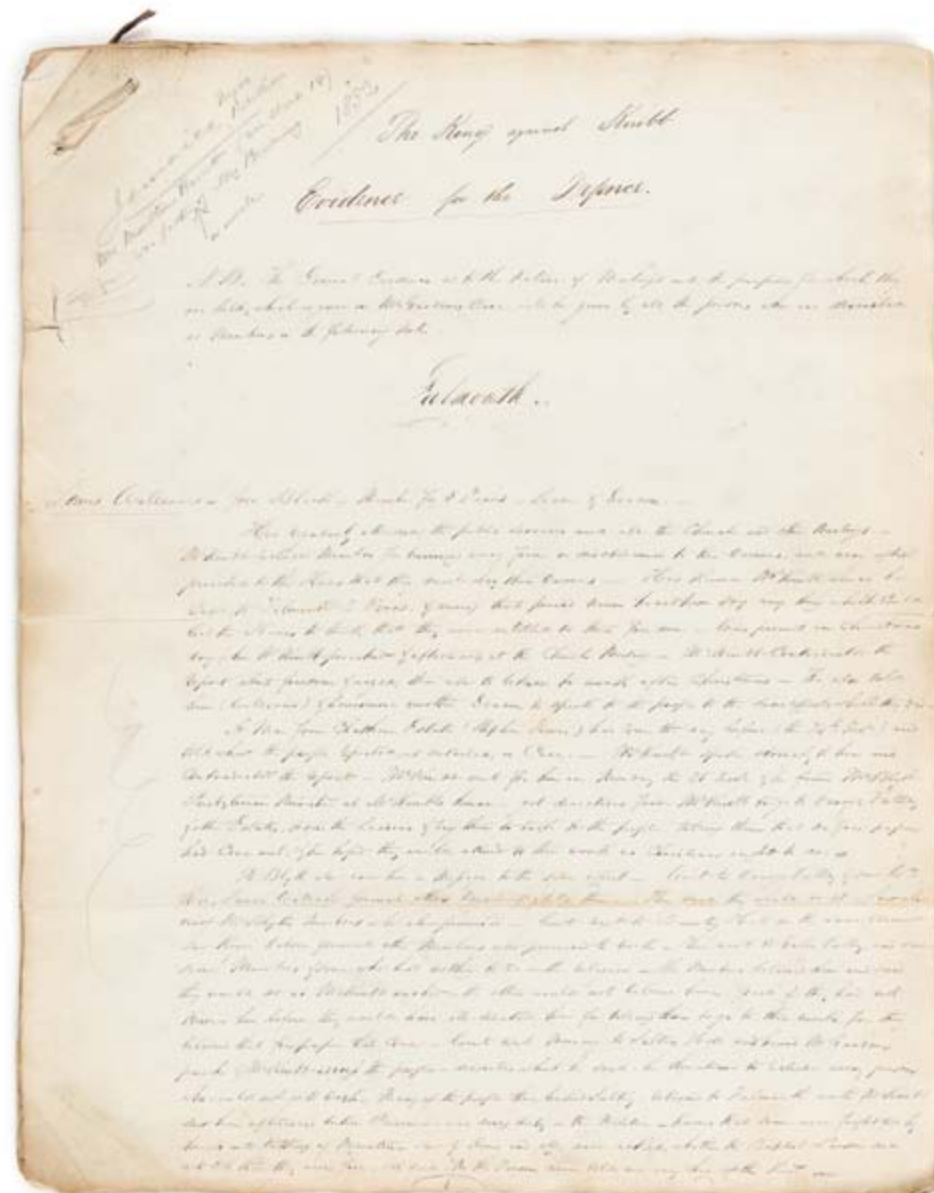
Now the image came to symbolise slavery generally and in the framed plaquette, the crouching slave implores Britannia, a personification of the British nation, to set him free. The ship in the background may be a slave ship, and if so would allude to the earlier triumph of the campaign to abolish the slave trade and hint that a similar result awaits the anti-slavery campaign.

In the sky between the motto "BRITANNIA SET ME FREE" and standing Britannia, is the ever-open-eye, which symbolises the omniscience of God. The symbol reminds the viewer that God knows of all the injustices perpetrated by man and subtly suggests that the viewer is complicit in the injustice if he or she doesn't act against it.

There are a number of different versions of this wall plaque. In one the frame is alabaster rather than wood - see the example residing at the Hull Museum [accession number KINCM: 2006.3747]. In others the visual layout of the scene is slightly different i.e. in one the figure has a white loincloth and the motto is more circular.

The wall plaques were produced up until parliament passed the Abolition of Slavery Act in 1833.

Thomas, Hugh, The Slave Trade, London, 2006, p.492.



"They believed their freedom had come"

53 [JAMAICAN SLAVE REBELLION.] KNIBB (Rev. William.) The King against Knibb. Evidence for the Defence.

Written in a fine secretarial hand on the rectos of 20 folio sheets. Docketed in a contemporary hand on the verso of the last leaf "Knibb Reform Bill Grey and Wilberforce". Silk stitched at the corner. Housed in a quarter morocco custom clamshell box. Jamaica, 1832. £15,000

The Baptist missionary Reverend William Knibb, (1803-1845) was an outspoken opponent of slavery in Jamaica. Hated by the white community on the island, a capital charge for inciting rebellion was brought against him after the slave revolt of 1831.

ODNB relates the events that led to Knibb's trial: "Tension in Jamaica rose dramatically in 1831, when the British government sought to have the Jamaican colonists pass an order in council further ameliorating the condition of the slaves. A massive slave rebellion broke out in western Jamaica just after Christmas 1831... The white people blamed the missionaries, and especially the Baptists, for the slave rebellion and destroyed most of the Baptist and Methodist chapels in the western part of the island."

This extraordinary document details his defence, but also uniquely records the fervour for freedom coursing through Jamaica. It contains the testimony of about 80 named individual deponents mostly "free coloured men", "black freemen" or slaves (the latter's owners name or plantation given) with another 40 named witnesses who give no actual testimony, with an extensive statement by the white landlord Samuel Moulton Barrett who controlled four estates.

The first testimony by Lewis Williams, a free black-Member, can serve as an example. He was a Leader & Deacon of Knibb's Church: "Mr Knibb excluded members for running away from or disobedience to their owners, and very often preached to the Slaves that they must obey their owners -- Has known Mr Knibb since he came to Falmouth 2 Years & during that period never heard him say any thing which could leave the slaves to think that they were entitled to their freedom - was present on Christmas day when Mr Knibb preached & afterward at the Church Meeting - Mr Knibb Contradicted the report about freedom & urged them all to return to work after Christmas - He also told him (Williams) & Levermore, another deacon, to speak to the people to the same effect which they did. A man from Chatham estate (Stephen James) had come the day before (the 24th Dec) and told what the people expected as detailed in Case. Mr. Knibb spoke strongly to him and contradicted the report -- Mr Knibb sent for him on Monday the 26th Dec. & found Mr Blyth Presbyterian Minister at Mr. Knibb's house -- got directions from Mr Knibb to go to Orange valley & other estates, to see the Leaders & beg them to talk to the people, telling them that no free papers had come out, & he hoped they would attend to their work as Christians ought to do. Mr Blyth also gave him a message to the same effect"--went to Orange Valley & saw Wm. Ken, James Wallace & several members who also promised --went next to bounty Hall on the same errand saw Roger Dobson & several other members who promised to work--then went to Gales valley and saw some members and some who had nothing to do with religion--the members believed him... the others would not believe him & said that if they had not known him before, they would have ill-treated him for telling them to go to their work for they believed their freedom had come."

Charges against Knibb were eventually dropped and he returned to England, whereupon he set about defending himself and other missionaries against the claims

of the planters. Immediately thereafter, he toured the country pushing his case for the complete abolition of slavery, which came about when the bill was passed in August, 1833.

For an exhaustive account of Knibb see Catherine Hall's *Civilising Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination*. University of Chicago, Chicago, 2002.

A Plan for Emancipation

54 STUART (Charles). *The West India Question. Immediate Emancipation would be Safe for the Masters; - Profitable for the Masters; - Happy for the Slaves....*

Reprinted from the *Quarterly Magazine and Review*, of April, 1832. 8vo. Very good in original printed wrappers. 44pp. London, Simpkin and Marshall, 1832. £250



Charles Stuart (1783-1865) was born into a strict Presbyterian family in Jamaica and was educated in Ireland. He joined the East India Company at the age of eighteen, though left in 1815, possibly as his attitudes on social and military matters made him a poor fit. In 1817 he settled in Upper Canada. "Stuart eventually found an outlet for his religious and humanitarian zeal among the black refugees who were beginning to enter the area from the United States. He set up a small black colony near Amherstburg and helped the refugees establish themselves as farmers" (Dictionary of Canadian Biography).

Here he demands immediate emancipation of the enslaved population in the West Indies, arguing that it would be both safe and profitable for plantation owners, and advantageous to the

nation. The work concludes with a practical outline of how to effect emancipation. Ragatz, p.557; Sabin, 93144.

Secret and Confidential

55 ELLIOTT (Sir George). *ALS to Vice Admiral Sir Edward Griffith Colpoys regarding slavery and the West Indies.*

Manuscript in ink, secretarial hand with some contemporary pencil annotations. Small folio. 4pp. 16th August, 1832. £750

A fascinating memo from the Secretary to the Admiralty to the commander of the North American station, written on the eve of the publication of evidence taken before the "Committees of both Houses of Parliament on the subject of slavery in the West Indies." In the early nineteenth century the slave population on islands such as Jamaica outnumbered white colonials by a ratio of twenty to one. A number of rebellions had already occurred, specifically the Christmas Rebellion (or Baptist War) in December 1831, and the publication of evidence was considered likely to further inflame the situation. **This memo directs Colpoys to deploy his fleet in a show of force so as to pre-empt any further slave mutinies.**

"You will therefore prepare to concentrate your Squadron before the first Week of November in the West Indian Seas, proceeding thither with your Flag with Winchester and calling in your Ships from Halifax, Bermuda and the Northern part of your Station. You must so divide your Force as to protect Jamaica and at the same time to cover the Leeward Islands... [T]he fact should be well known that a Naval Force is at hand to overpower any insurrectionary movement and to afford protection to the Lives and Property of British Colonists."

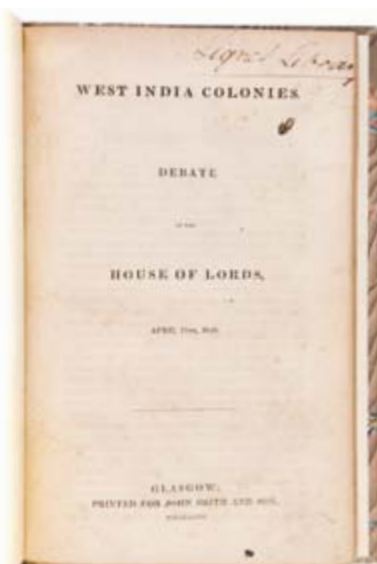
This copy produced for Sir George Cockburn, who succeeded Colpoys as commander of the North American station in 1833.

The Signet Copy

56 HOUSE OF LORDS. *West India Colonies. Debate in the House of Lords, April 17th, 1832.*

First edition. 8vo. Recently rebound in period style quarter calf over marbled boards, gilt, red morocco label to spine. A little spotty but very good, inscribed "Signet Library" to title-page. 47, [1]pp. Glasgow, Printed for John Smith and Son, 1832. £375





Part of the ongoing resistance to complete abolition was the immediate impact it would have on the plantation owners and Trans-Atlantic traders. The Earl of Harewood presented a petition on behalf of “merchants, shipowners, manufacturers, and other inhabitants of Port-Glasgow and Newark, praying that just and adequate protection may be afforded to his Majesty’s West India colonies,” which was taken up in the Lords.

Viscount Goderich summarised both sides of the debate: “On the one hand, it cannot be denied that a very strong and intense feeling exists in this country as to the condition of our colonial slaves; and as to the practicability of cultivating those colonies by emancipated slaves, and by other free labour. On the other hand, a strong feeling

of excitement and irritation prevails among colonists in consequence of what they consider to be great misrepresentations of their conduct and motives.”

Harewood’s rather weak arguments are taken apart by Lord Suffield, who expresses “surprise and regret, that his Majesty’s Government are prepared to agree to this committee of inquiry.” He proceeds to state that it is the existence of slavery itself, cruelty “of the most appalling nature exercised, both morally and physically, abundantly accounts for all the other circumstances existing in the West Indies ...” And then, “Is it not an indisputable position that every system, founded on cruelty and injustice, must fail?”

The Archbishop of Canterbury and the Duke of Wellington also contributed.

Rare Saint Vincent Imprint

57 [ARRINDELL (Richard). et al.] [Report of a Committee of the Legislature of St. Vincent, appointed to inquire into the Financial, Commercial and Political State of the Colony; dated 27th October 1830].

Sole edition. 12mo in 4s. Stab sewn as issued, string renewed. A clean, bright copy, contemporary ms. note in ink to final page. [2], 22pp. [Kingstown, The Royal St. Vincent Gazette and Weekly Advertiser, c. 1832.] £3,500

Exceedingly rare. Printed in Kingstown, St. Vincent, by the island’s only newspaper, the *St. Vincent Royal Gazette and General Advertiser*, it was issued at the behest of the island’s government. The pamphlet contains the full text of an important report of a special committee of the Island’s legislature, which was duly submitted to the British Parliament as it considered the financial, commercial and political

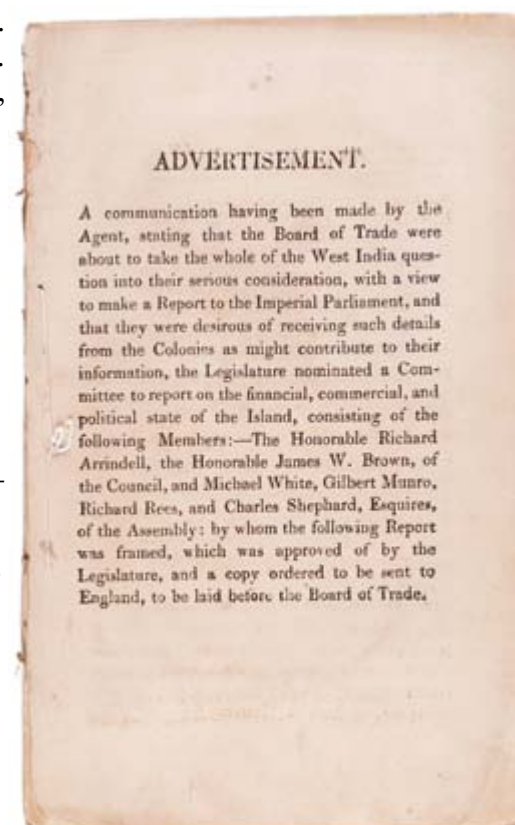
state of British colonies in the West Indies. The committee had six members: the Hon. Richard Arrindell, the Hon. James W. Brown, Michael White, Gilbert Munro, Richard Reese and Charles Shepherd. The following year, Shepherd would publish *An Historical Account of the Island of Saint Vincent*.

This is a bitter, anxious report. Its authors are clearly aware that the island’s sugar industry is dependent on enslaved labour and that emancipation can’t be far away.

The authors lament that in addition to high production costs, the “introduction of Foreign, and Mauritius and East India Sugar has, in fact, overwhelmed the market...” and takes issue at the level of duties and restrictions applied to the sale of locally produced sugar as well as of rum and molasses, both of which are reliant on sugar crops. Revenues, and land values, are further reduced in the absence of a truly reciprocal trade relationship with the United States and, more pointedly, by the efforts of abolitionists. It claims (incredibly) that the situation has become so dire that “... the West Indians are not willing holders of slaves, or even colonial territory; every present proprietor would cheerfully abandon the Colony, if he could obtain a very reduced value for the capital which he has embarked, and which is only continued because purchasers cannot be obtained.”

As a British colony, Saint Vincent was subject to the 1807 Abolition Act, though its foreign neighbours were not. It takes issue with the “neglect of the [British] Government in not enforcing the observance” of the ban “by Foreign Powers”, allowing competing sugar producers, such as Brazil, to acquire new labour, while British colonies had to make do with their existing work force.

The report must be read as part of a widespread effort to defer the complete abolition of slavery. It is eager to confirm St. Vincent’s efforts to ameliorate the conditions of its enslaved population, and regarding the 1823 resolutions, states: “this Colony had anticipated them, in practice, long before, by several Legislative enactments; one, in particular, giving Slaves the right of trial by Jury, and being defended by Counsel, - a step beyond the jurisprudence of Great Britain.” But the committee’s mask slips quickly, as they remark on the apprenticeship system now in place: “As to the African Apprentices they are so few, and without much chance of increase, little



need be said—with very few exceptions they are decided outcasts of society, and give a fine practical illustration of how Liberty may be abused by persons unqualified for the acceptance of it.”

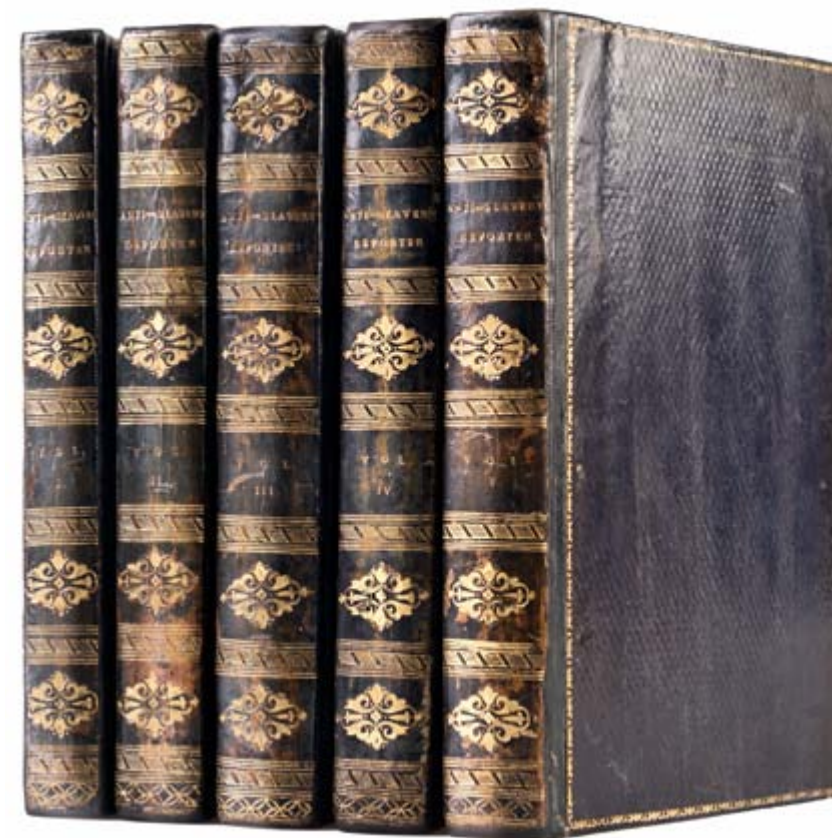
It concludes vehemently: “To sum up the whole, your Committee have clearly ascertained that the Colonial produce is overtaxed in all parts of the world; - that, at present, estates are cultivated at a loss to the planter; - the Colonists are assailed by a furious political party, bent on their destruction; - that the Government, hitherto, have not given that countenance and support to them, which their distant and disjointed situation, their want of political influence to explain their case, their contributions to the taxes (greater, in proportion, and collected with less expence [*sic*], than those paid by any class of his Majesty’s subjects), imperatively require; - and that, **unless a speedy remedy is found for these evils, the trade of the West Indies will be annihilated, and their ruin completed.**”

There are also three appendices designed to support its arguments. The first provides the financial reports of a Windward Estate, a Leeward Estate and an Estate in Bequia, each showing a loss or a minuscule profit. The second is “Sales, in the United States, of a cargo of 20 hogsheads and 6 barrels Sugar; 50 puncheons Rum, and 45 puncheons of Melasses.” Appendix C reprints the “slave evidence bill” which removes any distinction of competence of testimony based on whether a person is free or enslaved.

England gained control of the island from France in 1763, and the first evidence of a press is in June, 1767. However, until about 1850, only ephemeral publications were published on the island, including newspapers, broadsides and pamphlets bearing edicts or laws from the Crown. The present work is a typical example of government publications at the time. Bearing the heading “Advertisement”, these pamphlets often do not feature an imprint (as here), as while some examples would have been circulated separately, most would have been tipped into issues of the *St. Vincent Royal Gazette*. Indeed, item 1 in Frohnsdorff’s bibliography clarifies this. In the 22 June 1767 *Act for Making Slaves Real Estate*, it states that the “**Marshall or Deputy shall ... cause an Advertisement to be inserted in the Public Gazette of this Island ...**” The present report is a complete publication in and of itself.

Confusingly, at the time of publication there were two newspapers on St. Vincent, both titled *The Royal St. Vincent Gazette*: one was published by John Drape, the other by Thomas LeGall. While John Drape had been a printer on the island for nearly 20 years at this stage, Thomas LeGall was appointed government printer in 1826. This *Advertisement* should have been distributed by LeGall, however, Drape was also a member of the House of Assembly and still felt he had the right to print the government’s laws. It remains unclear who might have actually printed this.

Not on OCLC, KVK, or COPAC. We locate a single (apparently incomplete) copy at the Boston Public Library. *Frohnsdorff, Gregory, Early Printing in Saint Vincent...* (Delaware, 2009), 236, pp.1-4; cf. *Parliamentary Papers*, vol. XVI (1831), “*Slave Laws - West Indies*”, pp. 39-45, where the text of the Report is printed in full.



A Handsome Set

58 MACAULAY (Zachary), editor. Anti-Slavery Monthly Reporter [and] Anti-Slavery Reporter.

First editions. 5 volumes. 8vo. Bound in contemporary black diced morocco with brightly gilt decorated spines and gilt borders to boards. Each copy inscribed on the verso of the title page “Presented to the Devon and Exeter Institution by Mr. Jos. Sparkes.” The institution’s stamp is on the verso of the title-pages of vols. I & II. Some occasional spotting, but very good indeed. [iv], 392; [iv], 488, [12 index to vols. I & II]; [iv], 518 [including index errata page]; [viii], 508 [including index]; [viii], 574 [including index]pp. London, Printed for the London Society for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Dominions, 1827 – 1833. **£4,500**

An excellent run of this important periodical, the first issue of which was printed on 30 June, 1825. **Published under the editorship of Zachary Macaulay, it was the official paper of the Anti-Slavery Society, of which he was a co-founder.** “Through the pages of the *Reporter* and pamphlets such as *East and West India Sugar* (1823)

and *Negro Slavery* (1824), both of which were published anonymously, Macaulay sought to reveal the true enormities of the slave system and to counter claims that conditions in the West Indies had actually improved. In doing so, he provided Thomas Fowell Buxton and his colleagues with the evidence on which they could take their stand in the Commons” (ODNB).

The paper not only included proceedings of the Anti-Slavery Society, but reports on Demerara, Haiti, Berbice, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius, as well as speeches by William Wilberforce, Thomas Fowell Buxton, and Robert Peel. It also reprinted many of the petitions brought to parliament, as well as anti-slavery meetings in Dublin and Edinburgh. The issue for December 1832 is given to an Analysis of the Report of a Committee on the House of Commons on the Extinction of Slavery. The final issue, for February 1833, is an abstract of the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords on Colonial Slavery. In short, **it is an excellent digest of the abolition movement in these years.** In July 1830, the paper simplified its name to *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*.

Macaulay’s eminent standing in the abolitionist movement was recognised at the time of his death. “At a meeting held on 30 July 1838, with Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton in the chair, it was agreed to erect a memorial to Macaulay in Westminster Abbey. The bust, which was designed and executed by Henry Weekes, incorporates a figure of a kneeling slave together with the motto ‘Am I not a Man and a Brother?’” (ibid).

Ragatz, p.382.

A Royal Navy Surgeon on the Slave Trade



59 LEONARD (Peter), Surgeon. The Western Coast of Africa. Journal of an Officer under Captain Owen. Records of a Voyage in the Ship Dryad, in 1830, 1831, and 1832. [With] Records of a Voyage to the Western Coast of Africa, in His Majesty’s Ship Dryad, and of the Service on that Station for the Suppression of the Slave Trade, in the Years 1830, 1831, and 1832.

First American editions. 2 volumes in 1. Small 8vo. Original red glazed boards, printed paper label to spine; spine sunned, label dust-soiled, scattered foxing to interior; otherwise very good. 124; 177, [3]blank, 4[tables]pp. Philadelphia, Edward C. Mielke, 1833. £650

This volume is comprised of two titles on voyages to West Africa, both first published in the United Kingdom earlier in 1833. They provide valuable accounts of the wider attempt to suppress the slave trade in the final years before complete abolition.

It is significant for being the first American edition of Peter Leonard’s *Records of a Voyage...* (second title), which includes important information on slavery in the Gold Coast. In the preface, Leonard makes his position clear: “**The principal objects in publishing the following records, are to make known the horrors which attend the Slave-Trade on the western coast of Africa...**”

Built early in the Napoleonic wars, this was HMS *Dryad*’s last active commission before harbour service at Portsmouth. As a part of the Royal Navy’s Preventative Squadron, she was charged with running down slavers off the West African coast. The tables list the vessels she captured, along with others taken by the British Squadron.

Working towards American Abolition

60 CROPPER (James). The Extinction of the American Colonization Society. The First Step to the Abolition of American Slavery.

Sole edition. Stitched as issued, a clean copy. 24pp. London, S. Bagster, 1833. £200

Written in the same year as the 1833 act, Cropper was one of many abolitionists determined to see slavery eradicated in the United States as well.

This pamphlet takes aim at the American Colonization Society, whose agents proclaimed that abolition was one of their “great objects.” Cropper states that “instead of having done any thing to soften or ameliorate the barbarous laws of the slave states, made against their instruction and improvement, this Society has powerfully supported that un-Christian prejudice against the coloured people in which these laws had their foundation – that **instead of having any tendency to abolish slavery, its evident tendency and its effects have been to perpetrate that abomination; and therefore, that its extinction, and not its support, is the first step to the abolition of American slavery.**”

James Cropper was born into a Quaker family and trained with Rathbone Brothers. He established his own merchant house Cropper, Benson & Co. – the profits from which allowed him to pursue other concerns. “The focus of his attention was the campaign for the abolition of slavery in the West Indies, and he **addressed William Wilberforce at an early stage in the anti-slavery agitation by sending him pamphlets with a high polemical content.** Cropper was incensed not

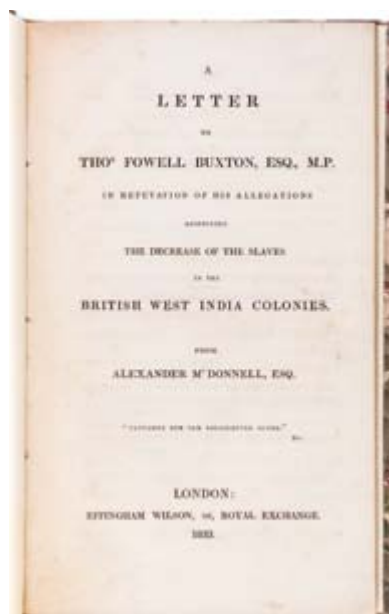


only by the inhumanity and injustice of slavery but also by its economic irrationality. In the latter context, the heavy protective duties imposed on sugar imported from the Far East in order to sustain the interests of slave owners in the West Indies were the subject of his incessant attacks in the belief that once protection was removed the institution of slave labour would collapse. As an abolitionist, Cropper associated himself with the advanced wing of the anti-slavery movement, demanding immediate and unconditional extinction of what he regarded as a national crime. His activities were by no means popular in Liverpool with his fellow merchants, some of whom possessed substantial commercial interests in the West Indies. In 1823–4 he was subject to a series of attacks in the columns of the *Liverpool Courier* and *Liverpool Mercury* by Sir John Gladstone, bt, a senior partner in Corrie & Co. and himself the owner of 1609 slaves. In 1831 Cropper joined forces with his son-in-law, Joseph Sturge, to form the Young England Abolitionists, distinguished from other anti-slavery groups by its unconditional arguments and vigorous campaigning tactics” (ODNB). *Sabin*, 17616.

Maintaining an Enslaved Workforce in the Wake of Abolition

61 MCDONNELL (Alexander). *A Letter to Thos Fowell Buxton, Esq., M.P. in Refutation of his Allegations Respecting the Decrease of the Slaves in the British West India Colonies.*

First edition. 8vo. Recently rebound in period quarter calf over marbled boards, gilt title on a red calf label to spine. Light spotting and toning, otherwise a very good copy. 8opp. London, Effingham Wilson, 1833. £375



While the passing of the 1807 Act abolished the slave trade, it did not provide for *emancipation* in the British colonies, which would not come until 1833. In the interim, there was much debate on how to sustain the highly lucrative sugar industry without being able to rely on the enslavement of new labour. Those with vested interests – both abolitionists and colonists – looked to procreation among the existing population to replenish the work force.

Ragatz encapsulates the debate: “Buxton had compiled statistics purporting to show that there had been a decrease of 52,624 slaves in the sugar islands in little more than a decade and declared that the decline had arisen from ill treatment. He was advocating immediate emancipation. McDonnell here challenges his sources.”

He argues, amongst other things, that Buxton is too generous with his estimates on fertility of the enslaved population. Where Buxton suggests women are fertile between the ages of 10 and 40, McDonnell reckons 18 and 25 is more accurate. *Kress*, 28331; *Paugh, Katherine, The Politics of Reproduction... Oxford*, 2017; *Ragatz*, p.529.

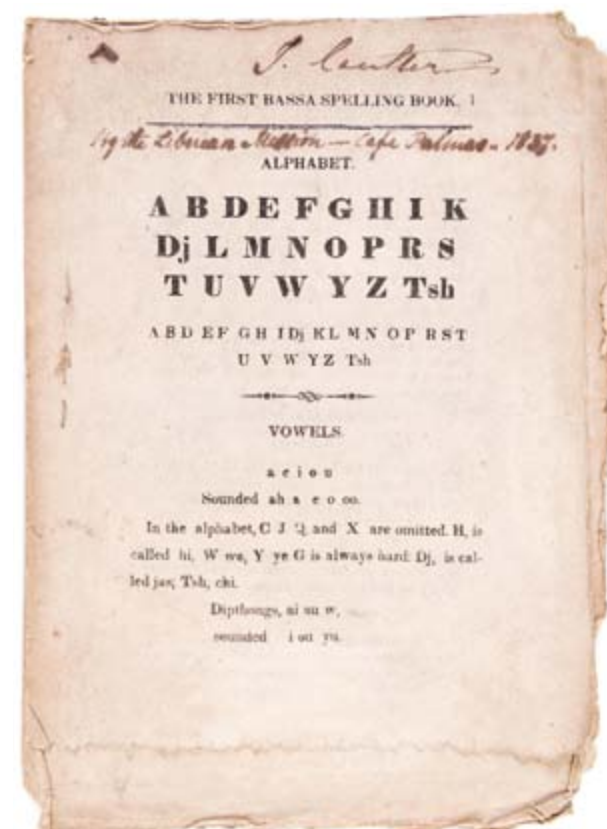
One of the First Liberian Imprints

62 [LIBERIA.] [CROCKER (Rev. William G.)] *The First Bassa Spelling Book, 1.*

First edition. One of 200 copies. 8vo. Uncut and stitched as issued, a little dusty, ink ownership ms. to upper wrapper, annotated in the same hand: “By the Liberian Mission - Cape Palmas”. 22pp. [Cape Palmas, Mission Press] 1837. £3,500

Liberia was only established in 1822 by the American Colonisation Society, as what was envisioned to become an **independent African nation** for the ‘repatriation’ of freed black American slaves, so this publication is one of the very first to be printed in the young country. Colin Clare’s *A Chronology of Printing* (1969) cites the Mission Press at Cape Palmas as the first working Liberian Press, however The Haydn Foundation for the Cultural Arts’ *A Worldwide Survey of First Imprints* (1981–2) identifies one prior Monrovia imprint of 1835. The four 1837 printings cited from the A.B.C.F. Mission in Cape Palmas do not include the present work, which, considering the thoroughness of this survey, is a good indication of its great scarcity. No auction records, a single copy on OCLC in South Africa.

The Bassa tongue was one of the indigenous Kru languages spoken by the native African inhabitants of the region. White American Baptist missionary Rev. William G. Crocker arrived in Liberia in 1835 and focussed his attentions on learning



The Bassa tongue was one of the indigenous Kru languages spoken by the native African inhabitants of the region. White American Baptist missionary Rev. William G. Crocker arrived in Liberia in 1835 and focussed his attentions on learning

the spoken language and developing a syllabary for it, with the intention of thence converting the native people to Christianity and aiding their assimilation with the influx of repatriated African-Americans. In this task he was assisted by an unnamed bilingual repatriate – presumably a freed American slave of Bassa origin. From *The Baptist Missionary Magazine*, Vol 17-18:

“On more mature consideration, he has substituted the orthography generally used in reducing heathen languages, based on the Roman alphabet; and has added to the vocabulary, a Bassa spelling-book. This last contains, besides lessons in spelling and reading, a short and very simple account of the creation of man and his fall – the life and death of Jesus Christ – the necessity of repentance and faith in Christ – and future retribution. An edition of 200 copies was to be printed before the close of December, for the use of mission schools.”

Arguments for Establishing an Anti-Slave Squadron

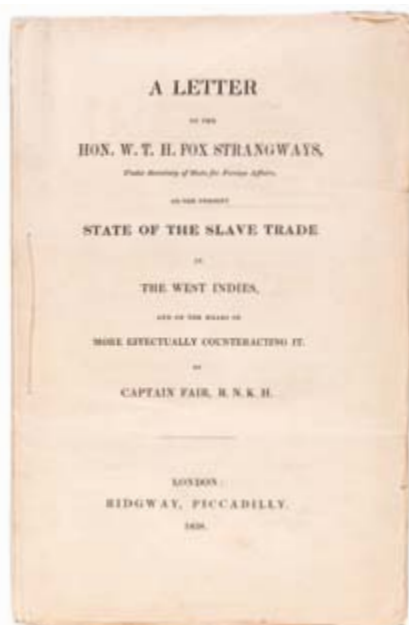
63 FAIR (Captain R.N.K.H.) **A Letter to the Hon. W.T.H. Fox Strangways, Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, On the Present State of the Slave Trade in the West Indies.**

First edition. 8vo. Stitched as issued in a green cloth chemise, with morocco label, gilt. 47, [1]pp. London, Ridgway, 1838. £750

While slavery was completely abolished in 1833, the trade was so lucrative (and indeed other nations continued the practice) that it continued illicitly. In this letter to the Undersecretary for Foreign Affairs,

Captain Robert Fair argues for the establishment of an anti-slavery squadron for precisely this purpose: “I should propose that a squadron, efficient as well as in point of number as of sailing qualities, be stationed off the island of Cuba, forming a cordon or line of communication with each other, and arranged, if possible, so that the slaver, flying from one cruiser, would in all probability be forced to run into the jaws of another, and her capture thus rendered almost certain.”

He outlines the sailing routes commonly used by slavers (a southerly course by Trinidad and Grenada, northerly by St. Thomas or Puerto Rico, or for those headed for Texas run through the Providence Channel), and cites some of the precautions slavers employ to evade detection.



Port Royal is deemed close enough to supply and refit vessels as needed, and a second depot of the most frequently required stores should be kept at Nassau. Ten vessels should be appointed – fast-sailing corvettes, brigs and schooners – and should cruise eight distinct areas. On the south side, specifically watching for boats headed to Texas: off the Island of Navassa, from St. Jago de Cuba towards Cape Cruz, then from Cape Cruz toward the Isle of Pines, and lastly from the Isle of Pines to Cape Antonio. To the north, he’d have them cruise between Tortuga and Inagua, and from Cape Maize towards Cayo Moa, Cayo Verd and Point Mulos. He’d station a schooner at Point Mulos, and have one other vessel off Havana cruising towards Matanzas.

Fair understands that the territorial waters of other nations should be respected, such as the Danes off St Thomas and that they would be unable to stop and search any ship flying the flag of the United States. He finally suggests that a mixed court be established at Nassau, London and Plymouth for the “adjudication of slave vessels captured”.

Scarce. The last recorded copy on the market was with Charles Heartman in 1948. Hogg, 3316; Kress, 30679.

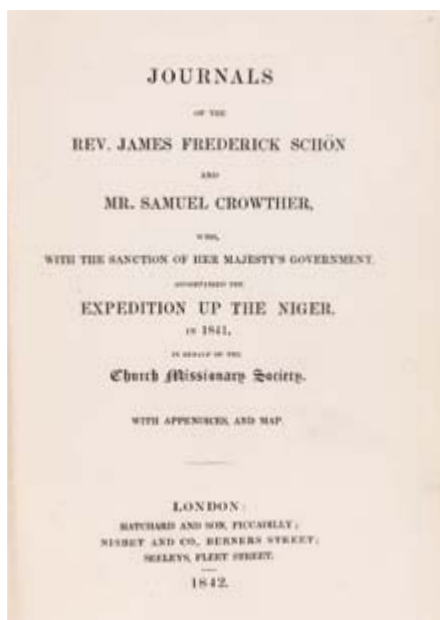
Thomas Fowler Buxton’s Copy

64 SCHON (Rev. James Frederick) & **CROWTHER** (Samuel). **Journals of the Rev. James Frederick Shon and Mr. Samuel Crowther, who, with the sanction of her Majesty’s Government, accompanied the Expedition up the Niger, in 1841.**

First edition. Double-page map. 8vo. Original black cloth, rubbed, with tears to spine and inner front joint detached. A little pencil doodling to verso of map and page xxiii. Armorial bookplate of Thomas Buxton. [viii], xxiv, 393, [1ads]pp. London, Hatchard & Son., 1842. £750

An excellent association copy of this account of the ongoing efforts to disrupt the slave trade at its source. Thomas Buxton is mentioned in the preface of this work: “It is probable that Sir T.F. Buxton’s important Work “The African Slave-Trade and its Remedy” contributed to fix the attention of the Government strongly on the subject.” Indeed, the preface concludes with an extract from his *Remedy* ...

Of course, Buxton was a vital member of the abolitionist movement. He “was an active member of the African Institution, founded in 1807. In May 1821 William Wilberforce ... formally asked Buxton to become his partner, and then successor, in the crusade against slavery. After some thought Buxton agreed. In 1823 the Anti-Slavery Society was established by abolitionists including Wilberforce, Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Clarkson, Stephen Lushington, Buxton, and others. Buxton was appointed a vice-president of the society, whose publication was the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. In



African, however, so impressed the authorities that he was invited back to England and duly ordained Bishop of the Niger in 1843.

May 1823, Buxton began the parliamentary campaign against colonial slavery by introducing a motion in the House of Commons for the gradual abolition of slavery” (ODNB). Even after the success of the 1833 act for complete abolition, Buxton retained an interest, and led efforts for the ongoing suppression of the trade in Africa. The mention of him in the preface of this work is evidence of this.

The original edition of this title is very scarce. These two journals provide an informative overview of the British Niger Expedition of 1841, led by William Allen. Due to the death of many of the members of the expedition it was generally acknowledged as a failure, and discredited missionary colonisation for years after. Crowther, an

A Lovely Copy

65 DOUGLASS (Frederick). *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass.*

First British edition. 8vo. A fine copy in blind-stamped publisher's cloth, spine gilt. xvi, 128pp. Dublin, Webb and Chapman, 1845. £2,500

A seminal anti-slavery document, Douglass details the cruelty and suffering of a life in slavery prior to his escape.

This is the very rare first Dublin printing which appeared in the same year as the first edition (Boston, 1845). It includes William Lloyd Garrison's preface from the Boston edition, and “To the Friends of a Slave” (3pp, [123]-125pp) as well as “Critical Notices” (2pp, [127]-128pp). The three-page “To the Friends of a Slave” provides the British reader with information on the American Anti-Slavery Society, its publications (weekly newspaper in New York), and details of the ladies across England and Ireland who accept donations for the Society.

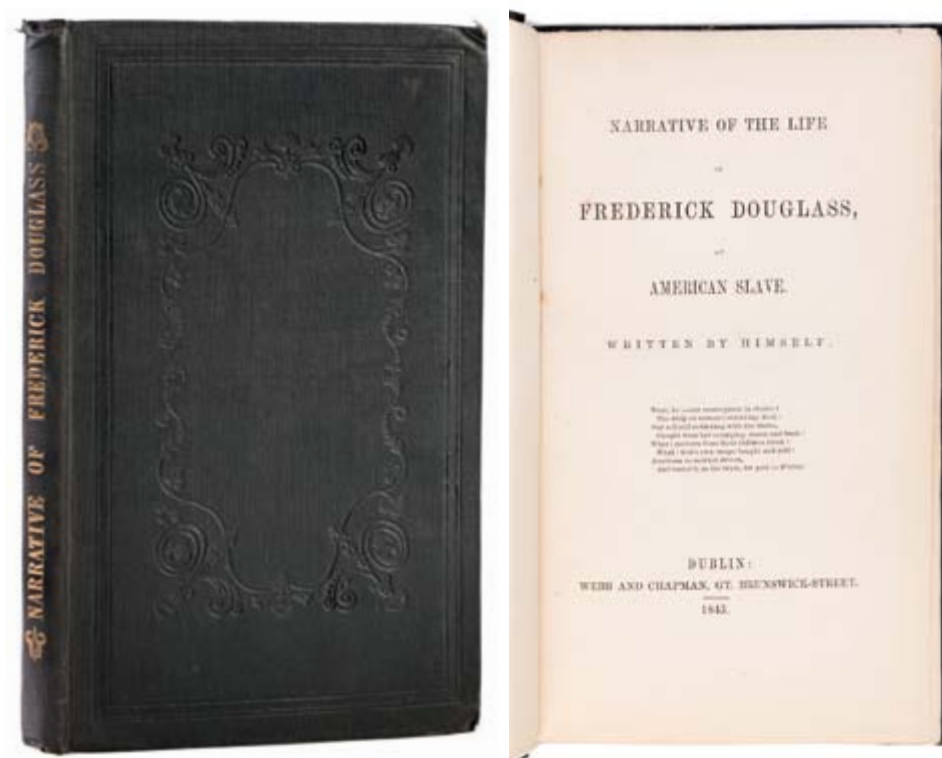
Douglass (1818- 1895) is one of the most significant figures of the American abolitionist movement. Born to an enslaved mother and an unknown white man, in 1826 Douglass entered the household of Hugh and Sophia Auld. There he taught himself to read and write and thus became aware of the debate over slavery in the United States. He established secret schools to teach his fellow enslaved literacy but they were

soon discovered and broken up. He escaped slavery in 1838, boarding a steamship to New York using the papers of a black sailor. He settled in New Bedford and soon became involved in the anti-slavery movement.

His talent for oratory soon saw him appear on the One Hundred Conventions tour across New York, Indiana, Ohio, and western Pennsylvania in the early 1840s. However, instead of promoting Douglass at every opportunity, some of the abolitionist community worried that he was too eloquent and asked him to tone his speeches down. Feeling patronised, he sat down to write *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, which proved an immediate bestseller in America as well as Europe on publication in 1845, selling more than 30,000 copies. “[T]he *Narrative* made Frederick Douglass the most famous black person in the world” (Blight). It was a brave and bold move for a fugitive slave. He spent 20 months in Europe where English abolitionists raised the money to buy back his freedom from the Aulds.

Back in the United States his life continued to prove eventful, here is a brief selection: he helped organise John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry in 1859, lobbied Abraham Lincoln to make emancipation a goal of the Civil War, became president of the Freedman's Savings Bank, and in 1889 was appointed US Minister to Haiti.

ANB discusses his achievements: “The most influential African American of the nineteenth century, Douglass made a career of agitating the American conscience. He spoke and wrote on behalf of a variety of reform causes: women's rights,



temperance, peace, land reform, free public education, and the abolition of capital punishment. But he devoted the bulk of his time, immense talent, and boundless energy to ending slavery and gaining equal rights for African Americans.”

Sabin, 20711; Blight, David W. ed., *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1993), p.16.

Author's Presentation Copy

66 MATSON (Commander Henry James). Remarks on the Slave Trade and African Squadron.

Second edition. 8vo. Recent quarter morocco over marbled boards, spine gilt. 94pp. London, James Ridgway, 1848. £450

In the wake of the 1807 Abolition of Slavery Act, the West Africa Squadron was established to patrol the Atlantic coast of Africa to disrupt the ongoing slave trade. The squadron initially consisted of just two small vessels, but by the middle of the century it had expanded to 25, many of which were paddle steamers that allowed for the patrol of shallow waters and especially rivers. It was part of a twofold approach, the other being the encouragement of commerce. This work was written by Matson in response to calls by Liverpool traders for the withdrawal of the West Africa Squadron. Indeed, the likes of William Hutt referred to it as “our darling and hopeless project.”

Published in the same year as the first edition, there were four in 1848 alone. Matson begins his preface on a dispirited note: “We have become wearied and disgusted with our repeated failures...” However, he grows more strident in his defense of the value of the squadron as a part of the over-reaching strategy of disrupting the slave trade, concluding: “The encouragement, by every possible means, of legitimate commerce in Africa, is undoubtedly one of the most effectual means of suppressing the Slave

trade ... but to allow commerce just to take its course – remove all checks to the natural avarice and cupidity of man, – and the Slave trade will soon flourish, to the exclusion of every other, and the continent of Africa will soon be in a worse state of social demoralisation than it is now.”

O’Byrne notes Matson’s service in the West African Squadron: “For his sub-sequent conduct at the capture of some pirates on the west coast of Africa, Mr. Matson, who left the *Curlew* in June, 1834, was promoted, 8 April, 1835, to the rank of Lieutenant, and appointed, a week afterwards, to the *Pearl* 20, Capt. Hugh Nurse and Lord Clarence Edw. Paget, employed at first on the Lisbon and then on the North America and West India

station. The latter vessel, of which he had been for eighteen months First-Lieutenant, being put out of commission 2 Jan. 1839, he obtained command, 2 March following, of the *Waterwitch* 10, and was again ordered to the west coast of Africa; where four years of the most successful exertion in suppression of the slave trade resulted in his advancement to the rank of Commander, 17 July, 1843.”

O’Byrne, *Dictionary of Naval Biography*, p743; Thomas, Hugh, *The Slave Trade*, London, 2006.

Extending Slavery across New Mexico and California

67 EMBREE (Elisha). ALS regarding the expansion of slavery into the new territories of California and New Mexico.

Holograph ms. in ink. 2pp. 4to. Old folds, with the stamped and sealed original envelope. Very good, crisp. Washington, 21 July, 1848. £1,500

Marked “confidential”, Embree writes to William Anderson Porter, who was a judge, politician and, from 1843-5, Speaker of the House of Representatives in the Indiana state legislature.

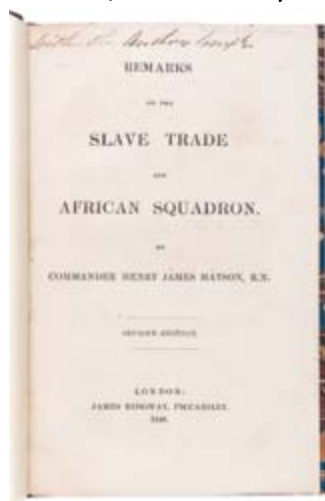
“While an exciting debate is going on in the House on party grounds ... [t]here is one matter about which I would like to know the feeling of my constituents. I refer to the extension of slavery over the newly acquired territory. Would the people desire such a compromise as proposed by the select committee in the Senate. **Would the people be satisfied with leaving the whole of New Mexico & California without any regulation about slavery & prohibiting the territories from legislating on the subject. At first the proposition by the senate was somewhat favourably received but more and more doubts appear to be rising in the minds of northern men here.**”

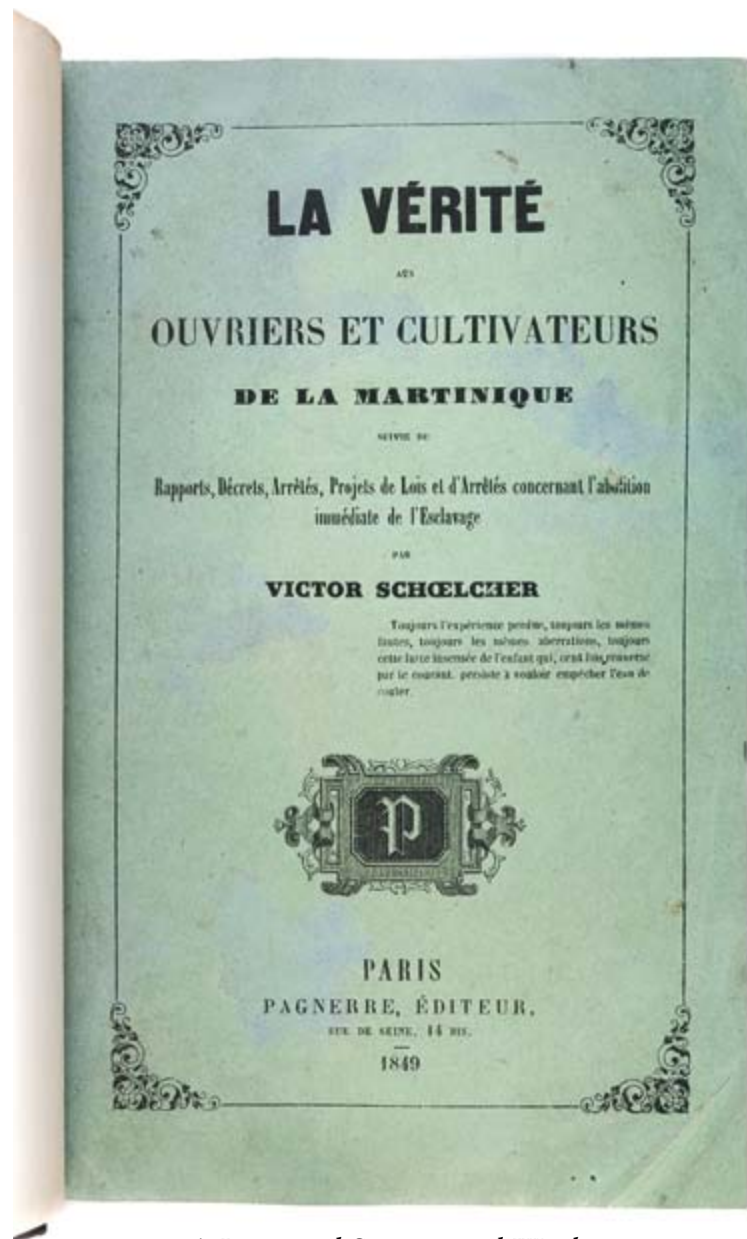
Embree is not actually soliciting Porter’s opinion on the question but instead trying to enlist his help to raise funds to print documents so as to canvass county and township committees across his district. He says that he’d already contributed one hundred dollars of his own money towards it. Embree notes further that there is little time to be lost as the “senate is determined that the slavery question shall be settled before adjournment & if so it will be late August before the adjournment.

Elisha Embree was born in Lincoln County, Kentucky in 1801 though moved to Indiana at the age of ten. He studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1836. He was elected member of Indiana’s 1st congressional District and served from 1847-49. It’s in this capacity that he writes to Porter.

Under the Compromise of 1850, slavery was sanctioned in New Mexico until 1862. California entered the Union as a free state, though with many restrictions on the black population, such as suffrage, written into the constitution.

A revealing letter showing a congressman eager to canvas his constituents on a topic which just thirteen years later would culminate in the Civil War.





A Rare and Sensational Work

68 SCHOELCHER (Victor). *Le Vérité aux Ouvriers et Cultivateurs de la Martinique* suivie de Rapports, Décrets, Arrêtés, Projets de Lois et d'Arrêtés concernant l'abolition immédiate de l'Esclavage...

First edition. 8vo. Quarter black morocco over marbled boards, vellum tips, spine gilt, original green printed wrappers bound in. 470pp. Paris, Pagnerre, 1849. £5,000

An excellent copy of this rare work by the pre-eminent French abolitionist of the nineteenth century. Here he takes on another famed abolitionist, Cyrille Bissette, a free person of colour from Martinique. **This is an extraordinary work of one abolitionist attacking another:** something akin to William Wilberforce publishing a book-length condemnation of Ignatius Sancho.

The book was published in the immediate wake of the 1848 abolition, for which Schoelcher was a key figure and, in his capacity as undersecretary of the French Navy, actually wrote the decree. Schoelcher worked tirelessly toward the abolition of slavery in the Caribbean in particular. He was the first European abolitionist to visit post-rebellion Haiti and opposed claims for reparations by plantation owners on the island. He published his first work on the horrors of slavery in 1833 and continued to argue for it in print through to 1875.

Bissette was, in fact, an early supporter of Schoelcher's, writing one of the few positive reviews of his 1840 work, *Abolition de l'Esclavage...* Both advocated for immediate emancipation, but fell out in 1842. Ostensibly, it was over Schoelcher's *Des colonies françaises abolition immédiate de l'esclavage*, which Bissette called "un mauvais livre", but it was partly due to Bissette's jealousy at the sudden rise to prominence of Schoelcher, and further, for being patronised and excluded by white abolitionists. Indeed, he pointedly created the *Club des Amis des Noirs*. Notwithstanding, by the time this work was published, Bissette had been elected to the French parliament as a representative of Martinique. **Their correspondence is reprinted here and we gain a rare and extensive insight into the internal debates within the French abolitionist movement.**

In nineteen provocatively titled chapters ("Calomnies morales", "Coalition des Haines", "Terroriste", "Les Partagaux et les Assassins"), Schoelcher tackles the many differences between them. Their rancour was by no means diminished by the actual passing of the act. Jackie Ryckebusch in her 2005 work, *Inventaire des ouvrages ...*, sums it up neatly: "C'est livre, plutôt accablant pour l'ambitieux Bissette, va bien au-delà de cette simple polémique puisqu'il aborde tous les sujets sensibles: organisation du travail, indemnité, compensation, suffrage universel et la nécessaire alliance des noirs et des mulâtres." ["This book, rather overwhelming for the ambitious Bissette, goes well beyond this simple controversy since it addresses all sensitive issues: organization of work, indemnity, compensation, universal suffrage and the necessary alliance of blacks and female mulattos."]

Bissette is a fascinating and complicated character in his own right: born in Martinique in 1795, he was himself a slave owner and in the early 1820s even assisted in the suppression of a slave revolt at Cabaret in north Martinique. His life changed dramatically with his arrest in 1823 on charges of plotting to overthrow the French government. This was actually part of a plan by the French who were concerned at being suddenly outnumbered by free persons of colour on the island. **During his arrest he was branded and exiled from French territories.** However, upon release, he became a leader of that community in France as well as Martinique and initiated a campaign

for equal rights. Indeed, between 1828-34, he published twenty-one brochures on the subject and later launched the *Revue des colonies*. However well intended this publishing program was, the expenses ran away from Bissette and “he regularly failed to repay loans to friends, colleagues and fellow abolitionists, thus antagonizing potential allies while strengthening his detractors” (Jennings). Bankruptcy soon followed, which had the disastrous consequence of disqualifying him from political office. **Schoelcher lost no time in referring to him as a leech and a beggar.** Bissette actually published a response to Schoelcher’s attack the following year, *Réponse au factum de M. Schoelcher intitulé la vérité aux ouvriers et cultivateurs de la Martinique*, which Jennings describes as “partial or unconvincing.”

The French abolition movement “coalesced much later than its British counterpart, lacked unity and displayed little of the fervent commitment to immediate slave liberation that had motivated British abolitionists already in the late 1820s and early 1830s. The moderation of the French anti-slavery movement throughout the 1830s and 1840s, and its hesitancy to press for immediate emancipation, are two of the principal factors explaining why France abolished slavery fifteen years later than Great Britain” (Jennings).

Rare: OCLC lists four copies at NYPL, Nat Lib Chile, BL and BnF. No copies listed in auction records. Ryckebusch, 7440; Sabin, 77751 (incorrectly dated 1840). Bryant, Kelly Duke. “Black but not African” in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*. Vol. 40, no. 2, 2007. pp251-282; Jennings, Lawrence C. “Cyrille Bissett, Radical Black French Abolitionist” in *French History*, Vol. 9, No.1, 1995, pp48-66.

An African comes to Tobago

69 [JUVENILE.] [DEAN & CO.] History of the Merry Brother Jonathan.

First edition. 9 half page hand-coloured wood engravings, including title. Slim 8vo. Original printed wrappers, oversewn, corners bumped, a little dusty. 14pp. including 6 integral blank pp. London, Threadneedle Street, Dean & Co., c. 1850. **£1,500**

A rhyming verse recounting episodes from the life of Jonathan, born in Guinea, and now “prime minister in King Tobago’s court, / Field Marshal and Lord Chancellor, and every thing in short.” This grand application of status is perhaps supposed to be satirical – even though slavery is not directly addressed within the verse, Jonathan’s removal from Africa to the West Indies, the assertion that “The king and I had but one shoe and a hat between us both” as well as the distinct figure of a white-faced and be-whipped overseer in the background cane fields of the illustration on page 4, would situate this firmly within the contemporary reader’s conception of slavery.

Brother Jonathan then rescues a white ship’s captain, the sole survivor of a stricken vessel. Much is made of the black inhabitants of Tobago’s reaction to the

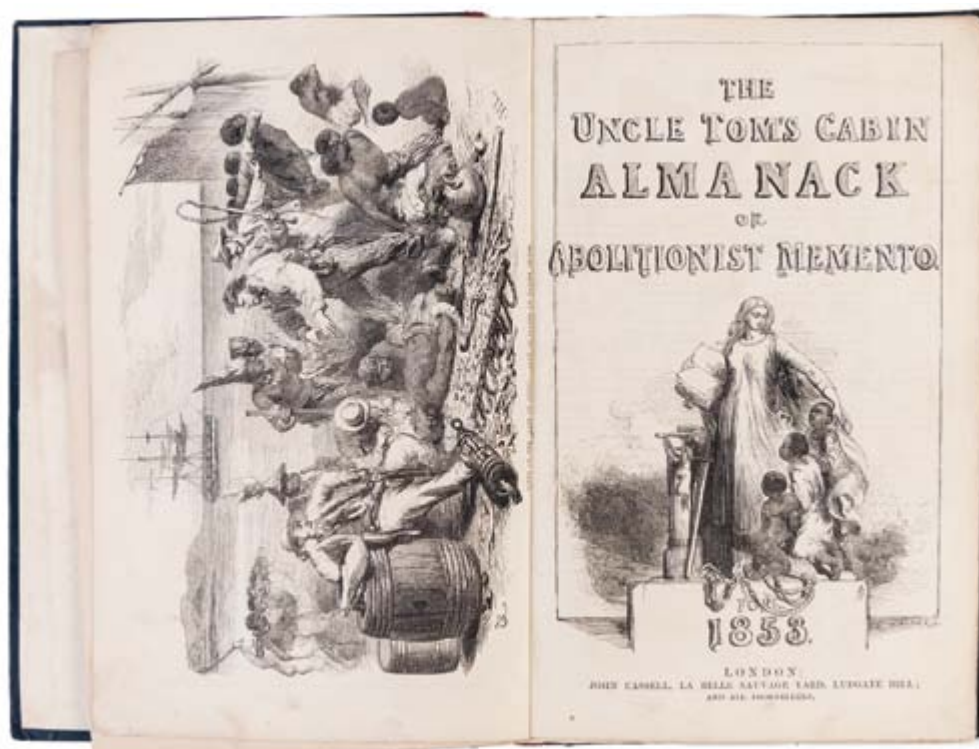


strangeness of the captain’s dress, in particular the removal of his “scratch, in other words a wig” gets a big laugh. Jonathan’s friendship with the captain then secures his passage back to England, where following another shipwreck in the Thames Estuary, they swim ashore and Jonathan recounts his tale in London.

This curious episode echoes the true narrative of Prince Lee Boo of the Pelew Islands, who in 1783 rescued Captain Henry Wilson and other survivors of the wreck of the *Antelope*. He then returned with Wilson to England, where he was well received in London society, and dubbed “The Black Prince”. He lived with the Wilson family, however died of smallpox six months after arriving. In spite of the obvious recasting of the protagonist as an African in the West Indies rather than a South East Asian, Lee Boo’s tale was well documented by the nineteenth century, and the comparison is notable.

Though the tone is intensely paternalistic and emphasises stereotypically ‘savage’ aspects of Jonathan’s character (he eats a snake), the heroics of his actions, his English Christian name and his passage to London presumably as a free man, make this an interesting piece of juvenilia produced in a period when the continuation of slavery in America and the West Indies was a topic of much debate.

Rare: OCLC locates a single copy at Princeton. [further illustration on outer covers]



"Our aim is to give a daily lesson, and to bear a daily witness."

70 [STOWE (Harriet Beecher).] CRUIKSHANK (George). *Uncle Tom's Cabin Almanack or Abolitionist Memento for 1853*.

First edition. Frontispiece, illustrated title-page, and 15 illustrations to text. 8vo. Later quarter morocco over blue cloth, red morocco label to spine, gilt. Ink ownership inscription to the front pastedown "To J.G. Cross from R.B. Marston Dec 5 1907" Affixed to the facing free endpaper is an ALS from Marston to Cross "Please accept this book pub'd by yr house in the year I was born in..."&c. 70pp. London, John Cassell, [1852.] £3,750

A lovely example of this forthright and dramatic abolitionist memento. It draws on the talents of Harriet Beecher Stowe and George Cruikshank: two of the most important nineteenth century figures in arts and letters. This *Memento* specifically seeks to address the abolitionist cause to North America, and states in the opening address: "America is the stronghold of slavery. We have reason to believe that, if slavery were exterminated in America, it could immediately cease."

After the bill for the complete abolition of slavery was passed in 1833, the case for American abolition was of less interest to the British public, and given its economic benefits, for many it was difficult to campaign for. The success of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, revived interest and, in 1852, Cruikshank received

a commission from noted abolitionist and publisher, John Cassell, to illustrate an edition. The work proved popular in England with Routledge also publishing an edition. "A bound edition from the parts was available by Christmas, and Cassell followed up by reprinting both the parts and the volume ... and by producing *Uncle Tom's Cabin Almanack, or Abolitionist Memento for 1853*, illustrated with wood-engravings after Cruikshank, Browne, Leech, and John Gilbert ... That Cruikshank was sincerely interested in abolition, is a plausible inference from all this activity; but he never devoted himself personally to that cause..." (Patten).

The text includes the chapters on Frederick Douglass, the Fugitive Slave Bill, the Flight of Fugitives to Canada and settlements established there. This includes the stories of Rachel Parker, Henry Long and William Harris. There are further notes on Rev. James Pennington, among others. Other chapters are on Dahomey and the Dahomans, and then the likes of Ignatius Sancho, Gustavus Vassa, Henry Garnett and Toussaint L'Ouverture. Finally, it turns to the project of emancipation.

Considerably augmented with illustrations, the dramatic frontispiece shows "the sale of slaves by the native chiefs." There images of Frederick Douglass, "Flight of Fugitives to Canada", their apprehension and flogging, their sale, as well as their landing in Canada. There is a rendering of the plan of the slave ship *Brookes*, an image showing the capture of a slaver, then the king of Dahomey, and two of his female warriors.

Rare: the last copy at auction was in 1942. *Cohn*, 816. Patten, Robert, L. *George Cruikshank, Life, Times and Art*. (London, 1992), vol 2., pp.323-4.



An African American Woman becomes a Missionary to Former Slaves

71 PRINCE (Mrs. Nancy). *A Narrative of the Life and Travels of Mrs. Nancy Prince*.

Second edition. 12mo. Original dark brown cloth, boards attractively blind-stamped, gilt titling to centre of upper board. Very minor wear to head of spine, corners bumped. One contemporary ink annotation, correcting a date, on p.17. Interior pages fresh and clean. A very good copy. 89, [1]blank pp. Boston, published by the author, 1853. £350

Nancy (née Gardner) Prince (1799-?) self-published two editions of her autobiography, the first in 1850 and the second in 1853. It tells the remarkable story of her life as a traveller, missionary and abolitionist. **It also importantly counts among the small number of printed mid-nineteenth century memoirs by African American women.**

Prince was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts to an African American mother and an African father. Her family were extremely poor, a circumstance that forced her into hard labour at an early age, working in a service position for a white family in Salem.

At twenty-four she met her future husband Nero Prince, an event that sparked her first departure from America. As Nero served as one of twenty black men in the court of Emperor Alexander, the newly married couple set sail for Russia, where they became residents of St. Petersburg. Her memoir devotes a number of pages to their time there, commenting on customs, politics and specific events such as the flood of 1824. In 1833 poor health forced her back to America and though Nero had plans to join her, he sadly passed away in his adopted homeland.

She left again in 1840, this time to Jamaica in order to work as a missionary among former slaves. Her observations on the island and, in particular, the effects slavery had wreaked on the population were published in a now scarce pamphlet (*The West Indies...*, Boston, Dow & Jackson, 1841); the content of which is reprinted for the most part in her memoir. **“Prince reports on the British colony’s violent internal civil conflict, turmoil in the church in the period immediately after emancipation, and extra-colonial efforts to aid the newly freed, industrious, often illiterate, and proud former slaves”** (Gates).

Nothing is known of her life after 1853 and little information exists outside of her memoir, “a rare combination of faith story, travelogue and narrative of political development” (*ibid*).

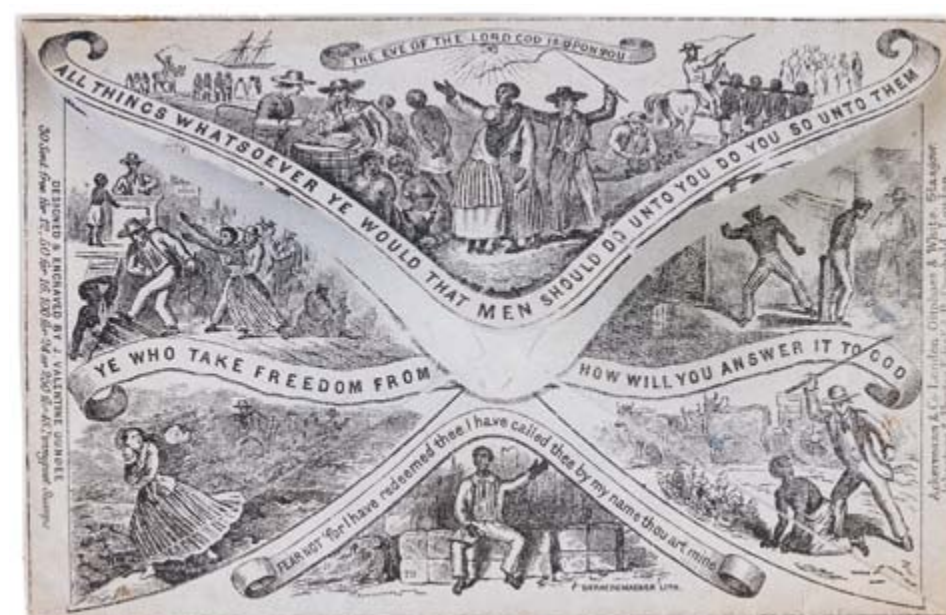
Gates, Henry Lewis, *African American Lives*, Oxford, 2004, p.688.

A Rare Survival

72 [STOWE (Harriet Beecher).] VALENTINE (James). **The Eve of the Lord God is Upon You...**

First state. Lithographed envelope with 6 pictorial scenes. Measuring 80 by 125mm. London, Ackermann & Co., 1854. £750

This extraordinary envelope includes six dramatic images illustrating scenes from *Uncle Tom’s Cabin*. For example, the lower left panel shows an adapted image of “The Slave Mother”, which first appeared in the poetic adaption of the novel. An inscription running across the envelope states: “All things whatsoever ye would that Men should do unto you. Do you so unto them, Ye who take freedom from how will you answer to God.” There were three states of this envelope, this being the first.



James Valentine (1815-1879) was born in Dundee and educated in Edinburgh. Having returned to Dundee in 1832, he established a business and gained fame as an engraver and, later, a photographer. “About 1849 he met the colourful American social campaigner Elihu Burritt; he was involved in publicity for Burritt’s visit to Dundee, producing engraved illustrated envelopes supporting his varied causes, which included universal brotherhood, arbitration for war, freedom of commerce, and (more mundanely) penny postage overseas.” Burritt also campaigned against slavery and this envelope by Valentine is very much in line with the rest of his productions. More importantly, Harriet Beecher Stowe toured the United Kingdom in 1853 and may have met Valentine.

A rare survival. We locate one other example at the Hull Museum. *The American Journal of Philately* (Second Series, vol. IV for 1891, p.505) gives the date of 1854. Richard Bodily et al, *British Pictorial Envelopes of the 19th Century*, Chicago, 1984, pp239-240.

The First African American Doctor Addresses Suffrage

73 SMITH (James M’Cune). **The Suffrage Question in relation to colored voters in the State of New York.**

First edition. Bifolium. Soiled and toned, bottom edge chipped, fragile. New York, c. 1860. £650

James M’Cune Smith was the first African American to hold a medical degree and

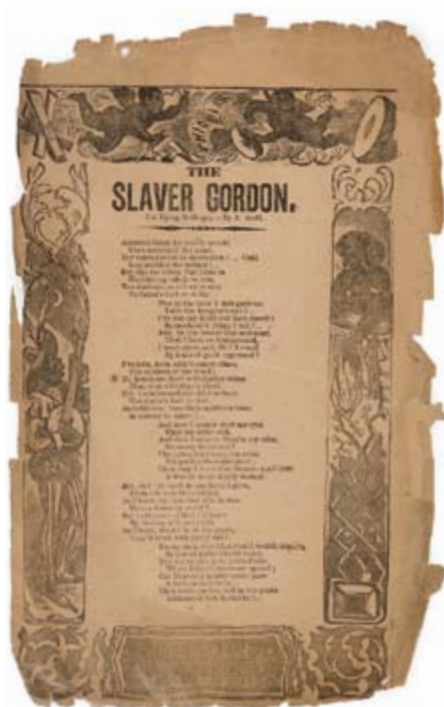
became a prominent member of the New York City and County Suffrage Committee of Colored Voters.

Born the son of slaves, despite being freed on 4 July 1827 with the passing of the New York Emancipation Act, he was denied entry to Columbia College on the basis of his race. From 1832-7, he trained at the University of Glasgow and returned to New York the next year as a fully qualified doctor.

Despite his achievement in medicine, “**Smith’s activities as a radical abolitionist and reformer ... secured his reputation as one of the leading black intellectuals of the antebellum era ...** Smith favored political abolitionism, which interpreted the U.S. Constitution as an antislavery document and advocated political and ultimately violent intervention to end slavery” (ANB). In 1857, the Radical Abolitionist Party selected Smith as their candidate for New York secretary of state, and thus he became the first African American to run for political office. A long-time colleague of Frederick Douglass, Smith contributed the introduction to his 1855 autobiographical work *My Bondage and My Freedom*.

Here he brings his intelligence and ire to propose an amendment to the New York constitution to allow men of colour to vote in the 1860 election. As per his abolitionist beliefs, Smith rightly observes that in line with New York’s first 1777 constitution all men had the right to vote.

Rare: OCLC locates five copies. Auction records list only a single instance at Swann in 2013.



An Apparently Unrecorded Song sheet

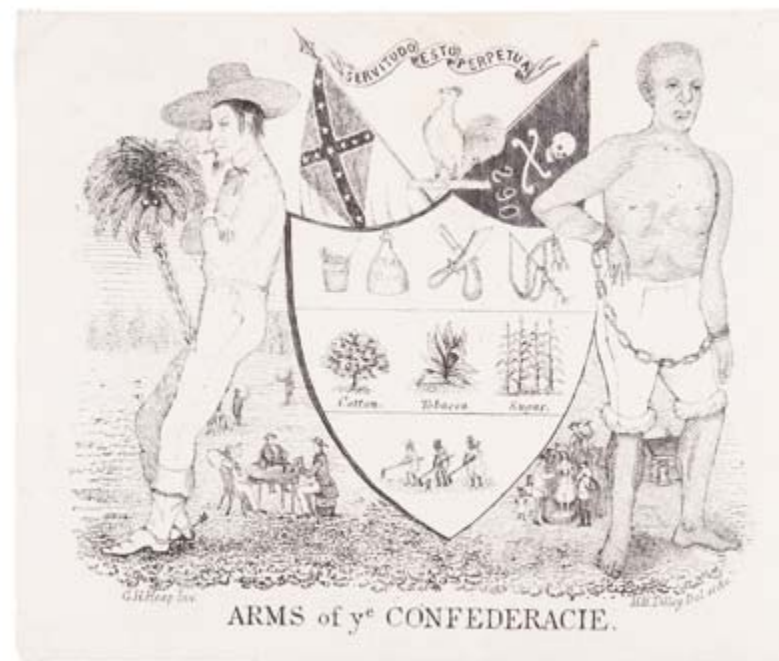
74 [LINCOLN (Abraham).] SCOTT (A.) **The Slaver Gordon, His Dying Soliloquy.**

Broadside, illustrated border, chipped. Measuring approximately 250 by 155mm. New York, H.D. Chatham, 1862. £500

Very rare song sheet imagining the dying lament of Nathaniel Gordon, the only American slave trader to be tried, convicted and executed under the Piracy Law of 1820. His ship was captured by US troops off the coast of West Africa in August 1860. After his conviction, supporters appealed to President Lincoln for a pardon. **Although Lincoln issued many pardons during his presidency, he refused to**

consider one for Gordon, viewing the execution as an important demonstration of his administration’s uncompromising position on the slave trade.

In this ballad, Gordon is generously portrayed as driven by avarice but consumed by guilt. An interesting decorative border includes African American caricatures, such as black cherubs and a man in minstrel costume playing the banjo.



Servitude Esto Perpetua

75 TILLEY (H.H.) **Arms of ye Confederacie.**

Engraved image on cream card measuring 100 by 120mm. [Philadelphia,] G.H. Heap, [1862.] £950

A sharp critique of the Confederacy and its economy reliant on enslaved labour, published in the early years of the Civil War.

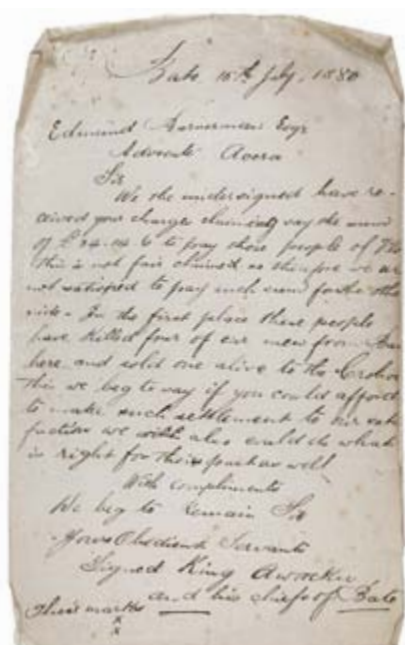
Tilley mocks the culture of honour in the south, via the ironic use of a coat of arms, to demonstrate that, far from being noble, the wealth and trappings generated by its agricultural economy were entirely dependent on enslaved labour and violence. On the escutcheon, a mint julep is contrasted with images of manacles and a whip, a sword and pistol; the abundant crops of cotton, tobacco and sugar sit above an image of a slave hoeing.

There are two supporters: a planter on one side and an enslaved African in manacles on the other. In the background is a slave auction, a duel, and a card game.

Resting behind the escutcheon is a confederate flag and Jolly Roger bearing the number 290. A note on OCLC suggests that this might refer to the CSS *Alabama*, which bore the hull number 290. She was “a legendary raider which boarded almost 450 vessels, captured or burned 65 Union merchant ships, and took over 2,000 prisoners. She was sunk by the USS Kearsarge at Cherbourg, France in June 1864.” The scene is completed with an unfurled ribbon bearing the slogan: servitude esto perpetua [servitude lasts forever].

Gwin Harris Heap is best known for his *Central Route to the Pacific from the Valley of Mississippi to California*, which was published in 1854 and recounts his expedition with Lieut. E. F. Beale to establish a route for the transcontinental railroad.

Rare. Just four copies on OCLC at USC, LOC, Massachusetts Historical Society and Western Reserve Historical Society. See OCLC: 904353144 for quote above.



*An African King
Refers to the Slave Trade*

76 KING AWOOCKU OF BATO. LS to Edmund Barnerman, Advocate of Accra.

Manuscript in ink. 8vo. Extremities worn, dust soiled, some spotting, scattering of pinholes to upper left corner, otherwise good. Preserved in a cloth folder, with a red morocco label on the upper cover. 1 page (verso blank). Bato, July 15, 1880. £750

With the withdrawal of the Dutch in 1874, the Gold Coast officially became a British colony. It quickly became a focal point for the trade in gold, ivory and slaves. This interesting letter touches on the ongoing slave trade in the region:

“Bato 15th July, 1880

[To] Edmund Barnerman, esq. Advocate, Accra

Sir, We the undersigned have received your charges claiming say the sum of £84.14.6 to pay those people of Vloh. This is not fair claimed so therefore we are not satisfied to pay such sum for the other side. In the first place these people have killed four of our men from Bato here and sold one alive to the Croboes. This we beg to say if you could afford to make such settlement to our satisfaction we also could do what is right for their part as well.

With compliments We beg to Remain Sir your Obedient Servants Signed King Awoocku and his chiefs of Bato. Their marks xx”

48 BEDFORD SQUARE
LONDON WC1B 3DR

